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NEW TIMES

A W E E K L Y J O U R N A L

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PUBLISHED BY THE NEWSPAPER "TRUD"—MOSCOW

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Front-Rankers of Poland's Industry

An important contributing factor in the successes achieved by Polish industry is utilization of the experience of Soviet Stakhanovites, on which Polish workers and engineers are drawing freely.

Our photos show: Top right: Steelmakers Truchan and Gogolin of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Mills, who are using with splendid effect Soviet Stakhanovite methods of high-speed smelting.



Left: Two distinguished miners, Eryk Ciron and Franciszek Apryjas, studying the methods of Soviet miners in a research laboratory. Franciszek Apryjas has won the "Builder of the People's Poland" Order by his splendid work.



Below: Elzbieta Rapala, Warsaw clothing worker who initiated over-all economy of material on the method of Lydia Korabelnikova. The factory she works in has been named in honour of the defenders of Warsaw.



Above: Stefan Matela, lathe-operator at the Railway Car Works in Poznan, who was among the first to use Stakhanovite Pavel Bykov's high-speed machining methods.



Right: These bricklayers, Franciszek Witek and Wladyslaw Gorecki, are using the experience of Soviet building workers in their work on an apartment house in the Marszalkowska District of Warsaw.



NEW TIMES

A WEEKLY

No. 4

JANUARY 24, 1951

Leninism—Mankind's Banner of Emancipation

THE PEOPLES of the Soviet Union and hundreds of millions of working folk in all countries of the world have just commemorated the 27th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, supreme genius of the human race. The grandeur and vitality of Lenin's cause stand out with particular force today, in the present state of international affairs. The major world events of these past years, as indeed the whole history of the first half of the twentieth century, demonstrate over and over again the invincible power of the immortal ideas of Lenin, leader and teacher of labouring humanity and founder of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State.

A living and most vivid embodiment of the ideas of Leninism, which have been further developed in the works of the genius who was Lenin's closest colleague and is the continuer of his cause, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—is the state which they founded, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia ushered in a new era in world history.

Lenin said as far back as January 1918 that in Soviet society "all the miracles of technology, all the achievements of culture, will become the property of the whole people, and henceforth the mind and genius of man will never be converted into a means of coercion, into a means of exploitation." And this task set by Lenin has been fully accomplished: by the will and effort of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union has become a mighty socialist power, with a first-class socialist industry and a large-scale collective-farm and state-farm agriculture; exploiting classes and all forms of exploitation of man by man have been abolished; unemployment and poverty have been eliminated for all time; the material welfare of the people is steadily and continuously rising, and the benefits of the foremost of all cultures,

Soviet culture—its science, its literature, its art—have truly become the possession of all the people.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin, successfully liberating the minds of the Soviet people from the selfishness, individualism, racial and national enmity which cripple man's mentality under capitalism, has imbued our people with the new and noble sentiment of collectivism, the striving for peace and friendship with all nations.

Under Lenin's banner, and led by Stalin, the Soviet people have built Socialism, and are successfully advancing to Communism, the contours of which can be clearly discerned in the majestic Stalin plans for the remaking of nature, which are already being implemented. That the Soviet social and political system, a system of peaceful constructive endeavour, is superior to the capitalist system of robbery, destruction and violence, is now obvious and incontestable to every honest-minded person in every country.

Lenin's genius foresaw that "our Communist economic development will become a model for the future socialist Europe and Asia." This prediction is being realized before our eyes. The grand achievement of the Soviet Union in building a socialist society has already been taken as a model by the European People's Democracies—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, which were liberated from the chains of imperialism by the victory of the Soviet Union in the second world war, and which have firmly embarked on the road of socialist development. The experience of the Soviet people is being broadly drawn upon and adapted to the conditions of their own historical development by the great Chinese people, who have emancipated themselves from imperialist oppression and have begun to build a new life under the banner of

Leninism. The historic victories of Socialism in the Soviet Union inspire the masses in all countries to fight for a brighter future, and they are rising against American imperialism—the most brutal and savage of all imperialisms—and its junior partners and servitors.

The vilest and most bestial features of imperialism have found their most complete and undisguised embodiment in American imperialism. More than thirty years ago Lenin pointed out that British and American imperialism were out for world domination. He said in November 1918:

“We find England and America—countries with greater potentialities of remaining democratic states than any—going to just such savage and insensate lengths as Germany before them, and they are therefore just as rapidly, if not more rapidly, approaching the end which has so effectively been reached by German imperialism. The latter first swelled, spread over three-quarters of Europe, grew incredibly fat; then it burst, leaving a ghastly smell behind it. And that is the end for which British and American imperialism are now heading.”

Pointing out that German imperialism had dug its own grave in 1918 when it tried to crush the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia and the Ukraine, Lenin predicted that

“all the more will British and American imperialism dig their own grave when they embark on a similar venture, which will lead to their political collapse—when they condemn their troops to be the thugs and gendarmes of all Europe.”

How timely these prophetic utterances of Lenin sound today, when American imperialism is openly laying claim to world supremacy and has already passed from preparation for aggression to outright acts of aggression. Today, when American shells and bombs have for already more than half a year been destroying Korean towns and villages, when American troops are slaying Korean women, children and old folk, when the United States and its satellites have launched into an incredible riot of militarism and reaction, and when the American imperialists have assumed the role of thugs and gendarmes of Europe and Asia

—what a prophetic warning Lenin's words are of the inevitable collapse and certain doom of American imperialism.

The myth of the almighty power of American imperialism has already been dispelled in the fields of Korea, where the courageous Korean people, heroically upholding their liberty and independence, have inflicted telling defeats on the American interventionists. There can be no doubt that the American intervention in Korea will end in complete fiasco.

The masses the world over are resolutely combating the menace of a new world war, which the U.S. imperialists are trying to precipitate. The front of peace is spreading and serrying its ranks. The protest movement against the arming of Western Germany and Japan is a demonstration of the maturity of the forces of peace, and of their ability to bridle the aggressors.

If the American imperialists so far lose their heads as to precipitate another world war, and venture to attack the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the European People's Democracies, that war will end even more deplorably for American imperialism than the second world war did for Hitler Germany—it will end in the universal downfall of imperialism.

Countries embracing 800 million people—more than one-third of the population of the globe—now stand rallied beneath the victorious banner of Leninism. The peoples and governments of these countries do not want war and harbour no aggressive designs against any country. They are building a new society, and are interested in stable and enduring peace among all states in order that they may successfully accomplish this work. Democratic peace and friendship among nations is one of the first slogans inscribed on the banner of Lenin and Stalin.

For more than thirty-three years now the Soviet Government has been unfailingly and persistently upholding the cause of peace and friendship among nations. The Lenin-Stalin peace policy, the struggle of the Soviet state for a democratic peace, runs like a crimson thread through the entire history of international relations in these past decades. Educated by the Party of Lenin and Stalin in the spirit of peaceful co-operation and friendship with other nations, the Soviet people head the struggle of all the peoples of the globe for

endurable peace and against the imperialist warmongers.

Leninism laid the foundation for the people's struggle for independence, democracy and peace. The 500 million signatures appended to the Stockholm Appeal are a vivid indication of the strength of the peace front, headed by the Soviet Union. The defeat sustained by American imperialism in Korea testifies to the fact that there are formidable obstacles to its schemes for unleashing another world war.

Obsessed by a lust for world domination, the American imperialists are endeavouring, by wholesale bloodshed, to prevent the deliverance of mankind from capitalist slavery. But no moribund and doomed class has ever succeeded in halting and reversing the march of history. Still less can this succeed now, when hundreds of millions of people have stirred into action, guiding themselves by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, as a sure compass pointing the way to their complete emancipation.

Local Government Councils in the People's Democracies

Prof. N. FARBEROV

THE MEASURES of democratic reconstruction undertaken in the People's Democracies have definitely put these countries on the road of socialist development. They are in the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism.

Of immense significance was the abolition of the old, bourgeois-landlord, machinery of state, which was so detested by the working people, and its replacement by an apparatus of government which is in the hands of the people and serves to promote their interests.

Legislative authority in the People's Democracies is exercised by democratically elected higher representative institutions: the People's Assembly in Albania, the National Assemblies in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, the Sejm in Poland, the Grand National Assembly in Rumania, and the State Assembly in Hungary.

The members of these legislative bodies are men and women of the people, representatives of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia. Forty-four per cent of the deputies of the Hungarian State Assembly are workers, about 29 per cent are peasants, and the rest are representatives of the professions or small artisans. In the Grand National Assembly of Rumania there are 177 workers and 66 peasants, and the remaining deputies are professional people.

In all the European People's Democracies, a new system of elected local government bodies has latterly been introduced. This places the coping stone on a single and uniform system of organs of authority, elected from bottom up by the people and responsible to the people.

The law on the local government councils in the Hungarian People's Republic states:

"In its advance towards Socialism, the Hungarian People's Republic is creating a system of state administration which will ensure the constant and active participation of the working people in the exercise of state authority and the work of government administration, bring the decision of all matters within closer reach of the working masses, and consistently practise the principles of socialist law."

With the creation of the People's Councils, as the sole organs of local government, the last vestiges of the old forms of local administration are eliminated.

In Poland, parallel with the People's Councils (Rady Narodowe) there existed until March 1950 authorities appointed or endorsed from above: the governor in the province, the elder in the county and rural area, the mayor in the town.

The law passed by the Sejm on March 20, 1950, introducing a uniform system of local

government organs, abolished the antiquated dual system of local authority which was hampering the Republic's further development.

"The concentration of authority in the People's Councils," said Premier Cyrankiewicz of the Polish Republic, "means annulment of the division into government and self-government administration, which is contrary to the essential nature of a people's state and is a survival of the now abolished capitalist system."

In the elections to the new local government bodies in the People's Democracies, the voters display a high level of civic activity. In the elections in Albania in 1949, 97.99 per cent of the electorate went to the polls, and 96.99 per cent of these voted for the candidates of the People's Democratic Front. In Bulgaria, 96.73 per cent of the voters took part in the elections to the county and communal councils on May 15, 1949, and 92.01 per cent of the ballots were cast for the candidates of the Fatherland Front.

Elections to the local councils in Hungary were held in October 1950; 96.9 per cent of the voters went to the polls, 97.8 per cent of the votes going to the People's Independence Front.

A high civic consciousness was likewise displayed by the populace in the elections to the People's Councils in Rumania on December 3, 1950: 9,473,872 persons, or 95.27 per cent of the electorate, took part in the voting, and 9,124,766 ballots, or 96.31 per cent, were cast for the candidates of the Front of People's Democracy.

In Poland, the Presidiums of the People's Councils have already been elected on the basis of the law of March 20, 1950, and the election of the Councils themselves is to take place shortly.

The elected People's Councils replace the provisional organs of local authority which have existed hitherto. The latter were set up with the object of speedily replacing the former system of local administration, ousting the bureaucratic officialdom, creating a new machinery of local administration, and preparing for the elections to the People's Councils. In Bulgaria, the powers and functions of the People's Councils were exercised for the time being by provisional boards. In Rumania, before the first People's Councils were elected, their powers were exercised by provisional

committees appointed by the Council of Ministers.

These provisional authorities were set up as a preparatory step to the institution of elected People's Councils, and they fully answered their purpose.

The provisional bodies were a school for training future officials of the People's Councils. They accomplished a good deal. Here, for example, are some figures from the record of the Bucharest provisional committee, which was headed by a journeyman printer, Nicolae Vaculescu. In 1949, 44 streets were paved and the roadways of 33 streets repaired, and 12 new dispensaries and 5 polyclinics for school children were opened. In one year—from April 1, 1949, to March 31, 1950—60,193 apartments were assigned to workers' families, and 266 apartments were built for foremost workers in production. The provisional committee opened 18 public libraries and 4 houses of culture in working-class districts.

A People's Council is elected for each administrative division of the country. In Albania, for instance, there are district, city, rural area and village People's Councils; in Hungary—provincial, county, city, city district and village; in Bulgaria—provincial, county, and communal (urban and rural); in Rumania—provincial, district, city and village; in Poland—provincial, county, city, city district and rural area; and in Czechoslovakia—provincial, district, and local People's Councils or Committees.

Prior to the emancipation of these countries from the yoke of capital, their local authorities were headed by officials appointed from above, or were a mere parody of self-government. The picture there was the same as in other capitalist countries, where the organs of "self-government" are nothing more than advisory bodies, with very restricted powers. In France, for example, over the General Council, the organ of "self-administration" of a department, stands a prefect appointed by the government. Under the constitution, he exercises "administrative control over the local communities." Decisions of the municipal councils are valid only after they have been endorsed by the prefect. A city mayor may be dismissed by the government on application from the prefect; so may a municipal council. The French Minister of the Interior has on more than one occasion dismissed Communist

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mayors and dissolved municipal councils that incurred the displeasure of the reactionary government.

In Italy, under the constitution of 1947, every department, in addition to its elected council, has a government commissar, and all the council's decisions have to be endorsed by him, as the representative of the central government. A departmental council may be dissolved by decree of the President on practically any pretext.

In contrast to this undemocratic system, the organs of local government in the People's Democracies are elected or dismissed by the will of the people. The People's Councils are the local organs of state authority in the fullest sense of the term.

"The system by which the local organs of authority, which will now also be the sole organs of the executive power of the state in the given district, are appointed and dismissed by the will of the population," says President Boleslaw Bierut of the Polish Republic, "is the most democratic form of government known in the history of social relations up to the present time, a form which has been tried and tested by the more than thirty years' experience of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The People's Councils are mass organs of government authority. The number of members elected to them aggregates 220,000 in Hungary, over 95,000 in Poland, 50,000 in Bulgaria, 18,000 in Albania, and 109,000 (elected on December 3, 1950) in Rumania.

The Councils are truly representative of the people. In Poland, 29.5 per cent of their members are workers or of working-class origin, 50.8 per cent are peasants, 14.2 per cent are professionals, and 4.9 per cent are handicraftsmen.

Of the members of the local councils in Hungary, 55,000 are industrial workers, 132,000 are labouring peasants, 10,000 are professionals, more than 5,000 are handicraftsmen, while many thousands are clerical workers or representatives of other walks of life.

The People's Councils are thus a medium for training tens of thousands of working people in the art of state administration.

"The creation of these local organs of authority," says Gheorghiu-Dej, Vice-Chairman of the Rumanian

Council of Ministers, "will mean drawing the mass of the populace into the work of directing the state.

"They will be a genuine school for the training of government officials of a new type, government officials coming from the ranks of the people."

The powers conferred on the People's Councils by the constitutions and by special legislation are very broad. They direct the economic and cultural affairs of their locality, endorse its economic plan and its budget, see to the maintenance of public order, help to strengthen the defence capacity of the country, enforce observance of the laws and protect the rights of citizens.

Improvement of the conditions of the working people is one of the chief concerns of the People's Councils. The People's Council of Sofia has restored the city's water supply and sewage systems and extended them to surrounding industrial settlements, resurrected its neglected or devastated public parks and gardens, and laid out new parks with a total area of 240,000 sq. metres. New hospitals, dispensaries, maternity homes and children's crèches have been built in the city. In 1949 over 108,000 sq. metres of roadway were asphalted or paved.

The Sofia Council has started a number of establishments catering to the needs of the population: a system of consumer goods distributive stores, a meat distributive system, a house building organization, and suburban market-gardens, which supply 60 per cent of the city's vegetables.

The People's Councils meet in regular session to consider and pass decisions on economic, cultural and other matters coming within their jurisdiction.

In Bulgaria, the provincial People's Councils meet in session once in three months; the county councils, and the city councils directly subordinated to provincial councils meet once in two months; and the communal and city district councils meet once a month. In Poland, the new law provides that the provincial councils shall hold sessions not less than once in three months; the county councils, not less than once in two months; and the other councils, not less than once a month.

The relations between the various rungs of the ladder of People's Councils, and between the latter and the higher organs of state authority, are based on the principle of democratic centralism. This combination of central-

ized direction and planning with broad popular initiative and local activity and close attention to specific local features and requirements yields splendid results. The principle of democratic centralism makes it possible to harmonize local interests with the national interests and to co-ordinate the activity of the local and higher organs, which together constitute a single system of government. Higher People's Councils direct those below them and see to it that their actions do not infringe legal requirements.

Elected by the people, the People's Councils are responsible to the people, maintain close contact with them and must periodically report to the electorate on their activities. The Bulgarian constitution, for example, requires that the communal and county People's Councils shall render account to their electors not less than once a year.

In Rumania, the law on the People's Councils provides for the convening of regular popular assemblies, as a means by which the population can share in the exercise of government functions and supervise the activities of the Councils. Popular assemblies must be held in both rural and urban election areas not less than once in three months, and are open to all voters in the area. Extraordinary popular assemblies must be convened if demanded by one-fifth or more of the voters. The popular assemblies are empowered to discuss the work of the Councils and other matters of local importance, and also the activities of higher authorities.

The People's Councils are obligated to discuss the decisions of the popular assemblies and to report to them on measures taken.

The People's Councils are thus under the constant control of the populace. If a deputy forfeits the confidence of his electors, they may unseat him before the expiry of his term. This right to recall deputies is one of the cardinal guarantees that the organs of government authority will function in a truly democratic spirit.

In the performance of their duties, the People's Councils enlist the initiative and activity of the working masses. The law on the People's Councils of the Bulgarian People's Re-

public expressly states that the Councils must rely in their activities "on the broad participation of the masses, and on political, trade-union, mass and other organizations." To assist the Councils, permanent committees are set up for all the principal divisions of economic and cultural affairs. The Bulgarian law on the People's Councils provides for the formation—depending upon the specific requirements of the given community, district or province—of the following committees: finance, municipal services and improvement, public education, social welfare, local industry and handicraft, agriculture, animal husbandry, sanitary and veterinary, trade and food, health, etc.

Workers, labouring peasants, professionals and housewives are invited to take part in the work of these committees. Such voluntary aides of the People's Councils total about 200,000 in Poland, and over 60,000 in Bulgaria. The permanent committees (those dealing with cultural matters, sanitary arrangements and municipal improvement) supervise the building of schools, the repair of roads and so on. Such matters as education, bread baking, and location of retail stores are handled by the Sofia People's Council with the active participation of the permanent committees.

By enlisting the assistance of such bodies of volunteers, the People's Councils strengthen their ties with the masses and draw them into the work of state administration.

The directing and guiding force in the local People's Councils, as in the higher organs of authority, is the Communist and Workers' Parties.

In the performance of their manifold functions, the local Councils of the People's Democracies draw freely upon the rich experience in administrative organization and activity of the local organs of authority of the Soviet Union.

The inspiring record of Soviet socialist democracy—the highest type of democracy—and the remarkable achievements of the world's first socialist state are a glowing example to the working folk of the People's Democracies in the building of their new states.

Reconstruction of the Kekkonen Cabinet

N. B.

THE PROLONGED and persistent intrigue and the enormous pressure exerted by the Finnish Coalition and Social-Democratic Parties on the Agrarian Union have borne their fruit: on January 17, the President of Finland appointed a new cabinet which includes the Social-Democrats. Kekkonen remains Prime Minister, and Gartz (Swedish Popular Party) retains the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Foreign Trade. The Social-Democrats have been given seven cabinet posts: Minister of Defence, First and Third Ministers of Communications and Public Works, Minister of Trade and Industry, Second Minister of Social Affairs, First Minister of Finance, and Second Minister of Agriculture.

In the program it published on January 18, the new Finnish government declared that it would adhere to the foreign policy course of the previous government, and would "in its activity cherish and promote friendly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis provided by the Peace Treaty, the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, and the trade agreement of June 13, 1950."

This, of course, is a very important assurance. It certainly conforms with the sentiments of the Finnish people at large. And it is in Finland's interests to pursue such a policy.

However, democratic opinion in Finland expresses the apprehension that the presence of Right-wing Social-Democrats in the cabinet may prevent the Kekkonen government from adhering to its intentions. The *Vapaa Sana* points out that, with the advent of the Right-wing Social-Democrats, the government now includes representatives of the most anti-Soviet and most pro-American group in the country.

To take, for one, the new Minister of Trade and Industry, the Right-wing Social-Democrat Penna Tervo. He is the editor of the central organ of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, a paper which rabidly campaigns against the Soviet Union and supports the war policy of

the Western powers. Penna Tervo is one of those Right-wing Social-Democrats who specialize in foreign affairs and are associated with Comisco (International Socialist Conference Committee), which is notorious as a doughty auxiliary of the North-Atlantic bloc. He is, moreover, a former functionary of the fascist Brotherhood-in-Arms, which was disbanded by the Control Commission. The new Minister of Defence, Right-wing Social-Democrat Emil Skog, is also associated with this fascist clique.

Such being the complexion of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, and especially in view of the anti-Soviet campaign conducted by their sachem, Tanner, no particular confidence is inspired by the effusive assurances of the Finnish reactionary press that the reconstruction of the Kekkonen cabinet was prompted solely by considerations of home policy, and that it will not be productive of any changes in foreign policy. Is this not a smoke screen?

Are we to believe that the American and British diplomatic circles who for six months manoeuvred behind the scenes to get the Right-wing Social-Democrats included in the Finnish government were interested in changing only Finland's home policy, and not her foreign policy? And now, when some of Tanner's most intimate colleagues, like Messrs. Penna Tervo and Emil Skog, really have been included in the Kekkonen cabinet, is it not natural to assume that, both in home and in foreign policy, they will strive to carry out the will of the Finnish and Anglo-American reactionaries, whose appointees they are?

The reconstruction of the Kekkonen cabinet aroused the vehement protest of Finnish democratic opinion. A resolution of the Finnish People's Democratic Union states:

"The foreign and internal reactionaries have succeeded in carrying out their plans for forming a bourgeois-Social-Democratic government. The demand of the working masses and other democratic elements of the country for a government of demo-

cratic co-operation has been grossly flouted. As a result, the vital interests of the working class and the country's international position are imperilled."

The Coalition Party is not represented in the cabinet. Its leaders realize that the inclusion of its representatives in the government would be too brazen a challenge to the peace-loving Finnish people, who know that this party openly supports the machinations of the American warmongers. But the Coalitionists regard the present government merely as a caretaker government, and undoubtedly have an eye to forming their own cabinet later on. Meanwhile, they consider that the Tannerites,

now that they are in the government, will help them to create conditions more favourable to their interests in the next elections—all the more that, in matters of home and foreign policy, the Right-wing Social-Democrats in all essentials take the same stand as the Coalitionists. What this stand is in regard to foreign policy is only too well known: it is one of participating in the anti-Soviet intrigues and criminal ventures of the American warmongers.

It is obvious that with the appearance of the Right-wing Social-Democrats in the Kekkonen government, Finland has made a step away from the path to peace and progress.

A Weak Link in the North-Atlantic Chain

Review of the Italian Press

IT APPEARS that Italy is another sector of the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc that is beginning to wobble.

The policies dictated to De Gasperi from Washington have long since brought the Italian reactionaries into sharp conflict with the people. The atmosphere is strained enough as it is; yet the United States keeps piling on the pressure. The appearance of Eisenhower in Western Europe threw Italy's ruling circles into what *Il Popolo* called an acute "fit of neurasthenia."

The first signs of the fit came on January 11, at a meeting of the parliamentary group of the party in power, the Christian-Democrats. Hitherto, they uncomplainingly carried Washington's orders through parliament, where they command an absolute majority. But this time they fell to quarrelling over the government's foreign policy. The chief protagonist of the dissidents was no other than Giovanni Gronchi himself, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. He said that the government's policy was arousing alarm and apprehension in the country, and that there was no unity among the Christian-Democrats on the subject.

Speaking in connection with the affairs Eisenhower has come to Europe to arrange,

Gronchi insisted that the Italian government under no circumstances enlarge its commitments under the North-Atlantic pact, and discountenanced the moves to involve Europe in the war the United States is engineering.

On the eve of the meeting of the parliamentary group, *La Libertà* carried an article by Gronchi, in which he said that "Italy is fatally committing herself to decisions which she has no power to influence," and that "dissatisfaction and alarm are characteristic of very large sections of the Italian public."

Gronchi disapproved of the plan to form a European army under American command, and sharply criticized Minister of Defence Pacciardi and the Italian generals, who, he said, instead of training army cadres "on the model of the German Reichswehr," were prepared to place divisions at Eisenhower's disposal. Gronchi repeated this criticism at the meeting of the parliamentary group, where he demanded the resignation of Sforza and Pacciardi—a demand which, the Rome newspapers say, was greeted at the meeting with manifest approval.

The government's policy and war preparations were taken exception to by a number of other Christian-Democrat deputies—

notably Del Bo, who declared that "all Italy is opposed to a preventive war."

So trenchant was the opposition that De Gasperi deemed it necessary to give assurances in the press that there would be "no alterations in the government" and that no consequences would follow the wordy battle in the Christian-Democrat parliamentary group.

Nevertheless, the press which is close to government circles intimates that the government's policy is badly discredited. "The government will have to reckon with the situation," says *Il Momento Sera*.

La Voce Repubblicana, organ of the Republican Party and mouthpiece of Ministers Pacciardi and Sforza, whose policy Gronchi criticized for its lack of independence and disregard for Italy's national dignity, gives the following insight into the discord prevailing among the Americanized politicians:

"Every party ... has split into active Westerners and passive Westerners, or fatalists, into consistent and convinced supporters of the Atlantic pact and ostensible supporters."

In the opinion of these "ostensible" supporters, the paper says, participation in America's ventures must be more cautious and rearmament must as far as possible be only symbolical. They consider that "an extra day of peace is preferable to war," and therefore support the idea of talks with the Soviet Union on major international problems. Apparently, *La Voce Repubblicana* is worried by this trend, and says:

"If this attitude goes much further, it will threaten to end in a split, and its supporters run the risk of sliding into neutrality and open opposition to the Atlantic pact."

The appraisal of the state of political feeling given by such a reactionary paper as *Il Tempo* is significant:

"It is in the natural order of things that the same tendencies should be manifested in Italian home affairs as in foreign affairs. Their source is the widespread dissatisfaction, both in Europe and in America, with the policies hitherto pursued by the Western powers."

Some prominent members of the Italian ruling camp favour the calling of a four-power conference to settle the German question, and

are also urging negotiations on Far Eastern affairs. Writing in *La Libertà*, Christian-Democrat deputy Igino Giordani vigorously opposed rearmament and war, and urged that

"before going the whole hog in rearmament, let us pause and reflect ... and try to achieve agreement, conciliation."

Be it noted that these Christian-Democrat oppositionists do not attack the North-Atlantic bloc openly and directly. Senator Quinto Tosatti declared in an interview printed in *Paese Sera*:

"The Atlantic pact is not subject to discussion, but we must not step by step increase our commitments under it. For example, the appointment of a supreme commander in Europe in peacetime is a step which requires explanation, and which may immediately involve direct interference in economic affairs. In my opinion, such interference is impermissible outside of normal diplomatic channels. Reasonable rearmament commensurate with neutrality, defence or nonbelligerent status is the right of every country. But such rearmament must be undertaken on the basis of the broadest possible agreements, and not for ends which may create the impression of prejudiced hostility."

The controversy in Christian-Democrat circles is highly symptomatic. It bears witness to a certain discord among the reactionary forces on which Washington relies. Even many of those who helped to draw Italy into the North-Atlantic pact are becoming apprehensive of the possible consequences of participation in this aggressive undertaking of rabid American imperialism.

Like France, Italy is regarded by Washington as a weak link in the North-Atlantic system. Its weakness, of course, springs from the attitude, not of the Christian-Democrat reactionaries but of the Italian people.

The policy of the ruling camp which has placed the country at the mercy of the American monopolies has brought intolerable hardships upon the Italian working masses. Their legitimate demands go unheeded, their economic interests are suffering severely, and their democratic rights are trampled upon by European gendarmes of American imperialism like Minister Scelba.

When the people of Italy came out in stormy demonstrations of protest against Eisenhower's proposed visit to the country, some of the

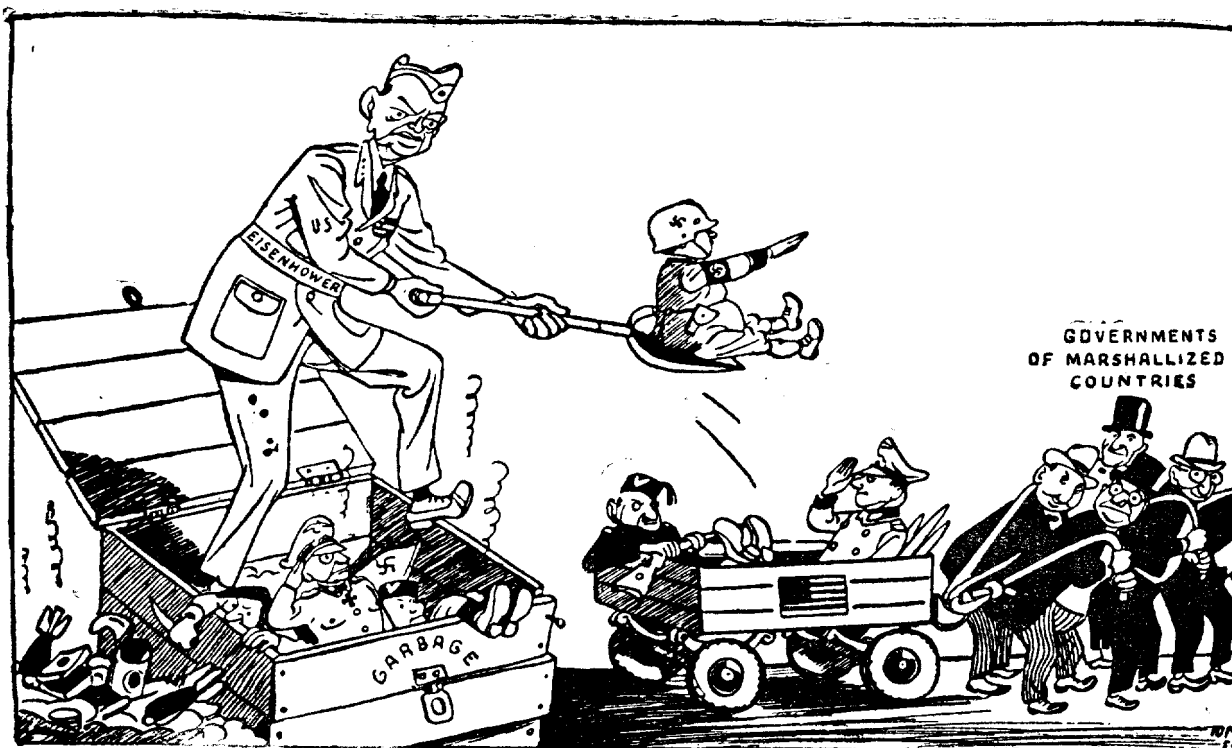
reactionary newspapers asserted that it was all the result of "incitation." But such statements are a smoke screen, intended to hide the wide scope, the unanimity, the spontaneity and unquestionable legitimacy of the people's protests against the policies of the De Gasperi government and against the North-Atlantic bloc. In point of fact, it is the American warmongers themselves and their Rome abettors who are inciting the Italian people to protest. Hunger, violence and preparation for war are the most powerful incitations to popular indignation.

The uproar caused by Eisenhower's visit to Rome confirmed the worst fears of the Italian agents of the North-Atlantic bloc. Once again the Italian people gave an impressive demonstration of their desire for peace and their opposition to plans that would involve Italy in the preparations for imperialist war. The government resorted to extreme measures of violence. But firing upon men and women who

demand peace, slaying, maiming and arresting peaceful people, are misdeeds which can only add fuel to the flames of popular wrath. If, besides acquiring military bases and establishing control over the armed forces of America's European satellites, Eisenhower really desired, as he claimed, to feel the pulse of popular sentiment, he certainly had no cause to ponder over the diagnosis. The sentiment is as clear as clear can be.

And the Italian reactionaries too are aware of the sentiment of the people, and fully realize that they remain in power only thanks to the American system established in Western Europe. And it is the bankruptcy of this system that is the cause of the doubt, alarm and crisis in the ranks of the Christian-Democrat politicians.

One can imagine what an impasse Truman's policy has reached when it is being criticized even among the Rome politicians, the meekest of the U.S. satellites.



EISENHOWER'S MISSION IN EUROPE

Y. GANE

INTERNATIONAL LIFE

NOTES

ENEMIES OF GERMAN UNITY

It took Adenauer six weeks to reply—in the negative—to Prime Minister Grotewohl's proposal for negotiations to set up an All-German Constituent Council with a view to re-establishing German unity. Adenauer's rejection was accompanied by a whole stack of explanations, calculated, presumably, to provide some sort of justification for a policy that cuts against the national interests of Germany and her people. But all these explanations and elucidations elucidate absolutely nothing, except the fact that the Adenauer gang of American hirelings do not want to see Germany take the path of peace and democratic unity.

Adenauer gives his whole game away when he names the Peace Defence Act recently adopted by the German Democratic Republic as one of the reasons for his flat rejection of the negotiations proposal. This law, which makes war propaganda a crime, does not suit Herr Adenauer. And no wonder, for prohibition of war propaganda cannot but infuriate the men who are working so hard to resurrect the Nazi Wehrmacht and turn Western Germany into a base for fresh aggression.

It is highly indicative that it took Adenauer so long to reply to the Grotewohl letter. The explanation is that the initiative of the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic met with such support throughout the country, and among all sections of its population, that the Bonn puppets were in a quandary. Not only the democratic elements, but quite a large section of bourgeois opinion too, have been bringing strong pressure to bear on Bonn, demanding that an end be put to the treasonous policy of splitting Germany and that some understanding be reached with the German Democratic Republic. Neither Bonn nor Petersberg (residence of the Western High Commissioners) could make up their minds just what to do. After a series of backstage conclaves a document was produced which, needless to say, advances no valid arguments against negotiations and only exposes the

Bonn rulers as obedient tools of the U.S. and British policy of partitioning Germany.

The Adenauer reply is a clear-cut demonstration to the German people that the Bonn rulers are agents of U.S.-British imperialism, that they are prepared to convert Germany into a bridgehead of war, and her people into cannon fodder for Eisenhower.

The rejection of Grotewohl's proposal was met with indignation by the German people. Protests are being voiced in every part of the country and by all sections of the population.

Every German can now see that all the Bonn politicians' talk about German unity is just so much humbug. German unity and peace in Europe are about the last thing Adenauer and his crew want. Adenauer's reply to the Grotewohl proposal is fresh proof of that.

The Bonn "government" has come out in its true colours—as an enemy of German unity, and this will undoubtedly serve to intensify the popular struggle for the democratic unity of Germany and the peaceful development of her people.

BY THE BACK DOOR

The assurances of Sweden's Social-Democratic Ministers that they have no hand whatever in the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc would by now probably fill quite a thick volume. But there are numerous facts showing what these assurances are really worth. Some recent events have been especially revealing.

Visits by American and British militarists to Sweden and by Swedish military men to America have become more frequent. In December the Swedish press reported the arrival in Stockholm of British Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, whose official mission it was to arrange supplies for the Swedish air force, and of U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Stuart. Swedish Admiral Ekstrand went to Washington "to contact representatives of the U.S. armed forces." In an interview published

early this month United Press quoted a meaningful statement by the admiral to the effect that supplying the Swedish armed forces with the war materials they need is in line with America's own interests.

It should not be difficult to divine just what "American interests" the admiral had in mind, especially if we recall that Sweden is herself supplying arms to members of the North-Atlantic bloc, primarily to Norway and Denmark. The Dutch *De Waarheid* reported on January 9 a number of interesting statements by Colonel Saebø, head of the Norwegian delegation at the recent meeting of the North-Atlantic "Defence" Production Board. It appears that there is a ramified network of Swedish-Norwegian military committees, which, on Colonel Saebø's admission,

"allocate war contracts, co-ordinate armament supplies for the Swedish and Norwegian forces, deal with matters pertaining to joint command of the armed forces, and study the strategic plans and tactical objectives mapped out for the Scandinavian general staffs."

In pursuance of these strategic plans and objectives, the Washington origin of which is beyond doubt, the Swedish authorities—to quote Saebø once more—

"have in the specified period provided Norway with sufficient arms to enable her to complete the rearmament of her forces."

Saebø further boasted that regular co-operation was practised between the Norwegian and Swedish general staffs, and also between their joint military committees and the corresponding North-Atlantic pact body.

Saebø's opposite number on the Danish delegation, Lindhardt, was likewise lavish in his praise of Sweden for the assistance she had rendered to the Danish army. He also announced that, on the recommendation of U.S. advisers, a joint Swedish-Danish military committee would soon be formed.

General Eisenhower did not visit Stockholm during his tour of the capitals of the Marshallized countries. But, as the *Stockholms Tidningen* reported on January 12, the Danish government took upon itself the mission of "informing Sweden of the talks with General Eisenhower."

The militarization of Sweden is being pushed at top speed. One very plain indication of it is the new national budget submitted to

the Riksdag by the Erlander Cabinet. Military allocations in the fiscal year 1951-52 will be nearly 50 per cent above the figure for the preceding year: 1,212 million kronor compared with 839 million, and will account for over 22 per cent of all budgetary expenditure.

All these facts go to show that the U.S. imperialists, through their agents in Sweden's ruling circles, are continuing their attempts to draw Sweden into the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc, even if by the back door.

PAN-ISLAMIST INTRIGUE

The Pakistan papers announce that the so-called All-Moslem Conference will meet for its second session in Karachi this February. The conference leaders maintain that the purpose of their organization is merely to promote cultural, religious and economic relations among the various Moslem states. But the facts indicate that its activities and the plans of the politicians grouped around it are of quite a different nature.

The conference was inaugurated in February 1949. It was sponsored by leading members of the Moslem League, the ruling party in Pakistan, and by the heads of the Egyptian International Islam Brotherhood Association, a product of the British intelligence service. It was clear from the very outset that these Moslem politicians were plotting against the national-liberation movement in Asia and the Middle East and supporting the anti-Soviet military schemes of the U.S. and British imperialists. The leader of the International Islam Brotherhood Association stated outright, in connection with the call for the All-Moslem Conference, that his party was striving to build up a Moslem alliance "to combat Communism in the East."

Right after the first session of the conference, representatives of the Islam Brotherhood and the Pakistan Moslem League made an extensive tour of the Arab countries to bring the rulers of these countries into their plan.

In November and December 1949, the first "economic conference" of Moslem countries met in Karachi. Commenting on its outcome, the London *Foreign Report*, a City mouthpiece, gave its undivided approval to the idea of a Moslem bloc in Asia as a "counterblast to Communism."

The practical implementation of this idea Washington entrusted to the leaders of the Pakistan Moslem League, who tackled the job with the greatest zeal. The League's president, Khalik ez-Zaman, visited various Moslem countries, the expenses of the trip being defrayed, according to the Pakistan *Imrooz*, by the U.S. Embassy in Karachi. The same paper stated that the object of the tour was to prepare the ground for the foundation of Islamistan—an alliance intended to combat the mounting movement for national liberation in Asia.

A second "economic conference" of Moslem countries was held in Teheran last October; Pakistan's Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammad was elected chairman. The purpose and underlying idea of this conference did not remain a secret either. The *Ahang-e Shark* newspaper described it, and not without reason, as a "continuation of the same old bloc-building policy." And another paper, the *Peyk-e Isfahan*, added that the aims of this meeting were anything but economic, its chief object being to line up an "anti-Communist bloc."

The purpose of the forthcoming second meeting of the All-Moslem Conference is to found a "World Moslem Brotherhood." The engineers of the new aggressive bloc hope that the Karachi meeting will speed up the implementation of their plan. The clique of unscrupulous imperialist-serving politicians behind these insidious schemes are shamelessly trying to capitalize national and religious sentiments in order to disrupt the just struggle of the masses in the Eastern countries against imperialist oppression and for national liberation.

THIN EXCUSE

When the U.S. military attaché in Finland went on a "vacation trip" to Kauhava, where there is a military airfield and other military installations, no one was very much surprised. Indeed, what could be a more suitable place for the military attaché to rest from his labours? But when, shortly after, a plane belonging to the American legation appeared and circled over Kauhava, many Finns felt that this was really going too far, particularly as this was not the plane's first visit to the area.

Some Finnish papers asked the Defence Ministry to explain why American pilots were

flying over Finnish military installations. A week passed, then another, yet no official explanation was forthcoming. There was an unofficial one instead: some of the papers said the American pilot had flown over the Kauhava installations only to "convey a message of New Year greetings" (the flight took place on December 28)—see how polite and courteous the Americans were! But other papers refused to swallow the story. The plane hadn't come to bring "New Year greetings," they said, but to take photographs of the airfields in Österbotten, and the American pilot had no doubt received permission to do so from the Defence Ministry.

Driven to the wall, the Defence Ministry had to give some sort of explanation. It turned out that the man who flew over the Kauhava airfield was not an ordinary pilot, but the U.S. air attaché himself. And, so the version ran, he was not going specially to Kauhava; his destination was Vaasa and Kemi further on, but he encountered "bad weather" near the Gulf of Bothnia and only got as far as Kauhava. As for permission to fly over that village, it was issued by radio immediately. So it was "bad weather" that was to blame for the whole affair!

A STRATAGEM THAT FAILED

Last December, rumours began to spread in the Middle East to the effect that a new "independent Arab State" was to be founded in the Persian Gulf area. It was to include the Bahrein Islands and the states of Kuwait, Oman and Qatar, the rulers of which had been conducting negotiations that month about amalgamating their police forces and customs, currency and postal systems.

According to Teheran newspapers, the project for this new state enjoys governmental support in some of the Arab countries, whose press and radio are insisting that it include also the Iranian province of Khuzistan.

The Iranian public was not slow to detect in this suspicious clamour a new piece of British imperialist intrigue against Iran.

"Teheran political circles think that Britain probably has a hand in the affair," wrote the weekly *Tehran-e Mosavvar*.

Nor did it require any particular perspicacity to arrive at this conclusion. Everybody knows that the Bahrein Islands, Kuwait, Oman

and Qatar are British protectorates and their rulers cannot move a finger without London's consent. Then again, Britain's Iraqi vassals would never have dared to challenge Iran's territorial integrity had not the word been given from London. It now turns out that the word had been given.

Telepress reports that a special meeting of the British Cabinet was held early in December at which Labour M.P. Philips Price reported on his recent trip to Iran. The object of that trip was to prepare the ground for Mejlis approval of the notorious "supplementary agreement" with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which was intended to perpetuate the domination of the British monopolies in Iran. The news Price brought back was not reassuring. He had seen for himself that Iranian opinion is vehemently opposed to the "supplementary agreement" and, in fact, demands the dissolution of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company altogether.

Then it was that sinister rumours began to be disseminated from every British source in the Middle East about the establishment of a new "independent" Arab state, of which Khuzistan was to form part.

But this stratagem failed to produce the desired effect. The "supplementary agreement" was not ratified by the Mejlis, which, evidently, could not disregard the violent popular opposition to the British plans for turning Iran into a colony.

SOLIDARITY

The heroic struggle of the Korean people against the American intervention meets with the support and sympathy of the masses everywhere. Relief funds have been started in many countries; people are donating food, clothing and money to help the Koreans, the victims of monstrous atrocities and marauding at the hands of the American soldiery, who are laying waste the land of Korea.

Numerous meetings dedicated to the liberation struggle of the Korean people are being held throughout the Rumanian People's Republic. In response to an appeal of the Democratic Women's Union and the Rumanian Red Cross, over 1,000,000 lei were collected for Korean relief in the space of a few days. Rumanian women are knitting socks, gloves and other warm things for Korea. Patriarch

Justinian of Rumania has called on all members of the clergy and their congregations to come to the succour of the Korean people. "The Koreans are battling in a sacred cause, the hardships and sufferings of this heroic people are numberless," the Patriarch's appeal reads.

The Polish Peace Committee is collecting gifts for Korean children who have lost their homes. Women's, youth and other mass organizations, writers, actors and artists, are all sharing in this undertaking. Contributions to the Korean Relief Fund already total millions of zloty.

Over 110,000,000 leva have been collected in the Bulgarian People's Republic for a fund in defence of peace and to aid the embattled people of Korea. The workers of the Plovdiv tobacco factories alone donated about 1,500,000 leva.

In the German Democratic Republic, about 2,000,000 marks have been contributed for relief to the victims of American air bombings in Korea. The Korea Relief Committee formed in connection with the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany has purchased and shipped to Korea large quantities of medical supplies.

Relief funds are also being collected in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Albania.

A BRAZEN COURSE

The French National Assembly has lately been debating a bill sponsored by a Right-wing Socialist called Guy Desson. This colleague of Jules Moch wants to give back to the French fascists the property of publishing houses and newspapers that worked for Hitler during the occupation. He also wants to rehabilitate collaborationist publishers and newspaper proprietors, restore their property rights and pay them 3,000 million francs in "damages"! Under the Act of May 11, 1946, the property of these publishing concerns was confiscated and turned over to Resistance organizations. The Desson bill accordingly strikes at the democratic publications, which appeared illegally during the Nazi occupation and after the liberation of France took over the premises of the pro-Hitler publishing firms.

Why was the present government in such a hurry to frame this bill? Why is the National

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Assembly being asked to rehabilitate forthwith individuals who used their pens to betray martyred France? Replying to these questions, the Paris *Ce Soir* says it is because the Washington directors of French policy have so ordered. They are arming Germany, amnestying collaborationists and restituting the property of notorious Nazi abettors.

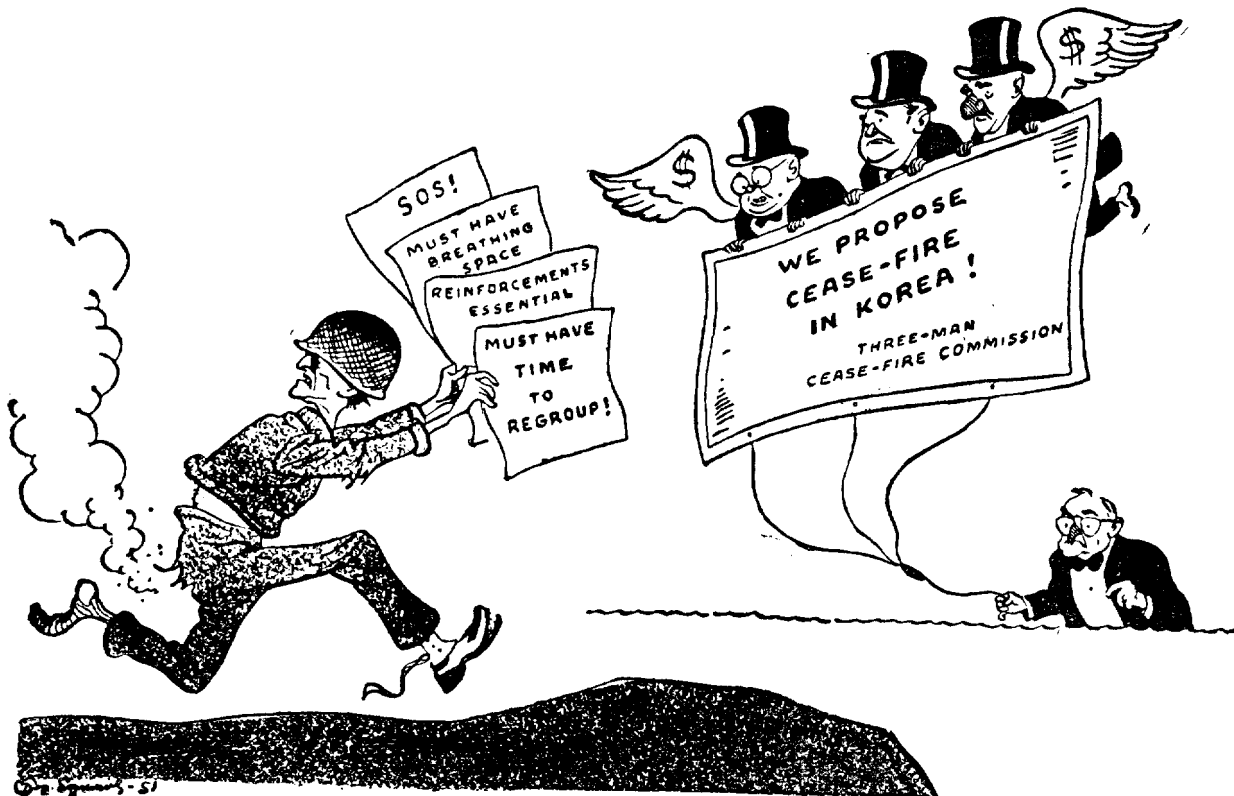
And indeed the Desson bill is not the first, and presumably not the last, link in the long chain of pro-fascist measures put through by France's rulers and the reactionary majority in the National Assembly. On January 2, this majority approved a bill *amnestying* French traitors and accomplices of Hitler. It is also known that an amnesty is being prepared for the fascist Marshal Pétain, the arch-traitor of Vichy.

While rehabilitating fascists and paying them "damages," the Washington agents in the Pleven-Moch Cabinet are trying to oust all democratic, progressive and genuinely patriotic elements from the civil service, the army and police, and from every sphere of public life. A pretty brazen thing to do in a country with such glorious democratic traditions, and with such a powerful popular movement as exists in France today.

ANOTHER FLOP

Three years ago the reactionary A.F. of L. leaders, acting on instructions from the State Department, collected a handful of Latin American trade-union splitters and blacklegs and proclaimed them the

WASHINGTON TO THE RESCUE



Boris YEFIMOV

"Inter-American Confederation of Labour." The move was meant to produce a bogus trade-union centre as a counterblast to the progressive and influential Latin American Confederation of Labour. The Green clique sank many a million dollars in this scheme, but it failed for all that. The Inter-American Confederation of Labour exists only in the lists of Acheson auxiliaries, and it is not a paying auxiliary either.

The American imperialists regard the struggle waged by the Latin American Confederation of Labour for peace, for better working and living conditions, for the national independence of the Latin American peoples, and against imperialist oppression, as a serious hindrance to their plans.

The State Department accordingly decided to step up its efforts to undermine the Latin American labour movement by enlisting the services of the CIO leaders, who have long since become agents of Wall Street. Last year Jacob Potofsky and other CIO officials made a series of visits to Latin America in search of new adherents. But their praises of the Truman program and lies about the "Communist peril" failed to bring the workers over to Washington's side. As before, the American reactionaries could count only on their puny collection of corrupt trade-union politicians. They had to manage with these, and the Green-Murray clique summoned this crew to Mexico City for a "Regional Inter-American Labour Conference," held on January 8-12. An Associated Press message from Mexico City gives a very candid description of the gathering:

"Even the newspapers most friendly towards the United States reported that the meeting was a manoeuvre to bring the Latin American workers under the control of U.S. labour organizations. Profoundly anti-Communist newspapers are echoing the statement that the meeting only wants to enlist Latin American labour on the side of the United States in a war with the Soviet Union."

The conference announced the establishment of an "Inter-American Regional Labour Organization," which is to be an affiliate of the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Actually no new organization was established; there was only a new registration, so to speak, of the old gang of

trade-union fakers who have taken upon themselves the ignominious mission of splitting the labour movement in Latin America and are unable to deliver the goods.

THE WOLBROM MURDER

Near the town of Wolbrom, in Southern Poland, three gunmen lay in wait for 15-year-old Waldemar Grabinski and shot him dead.

Monstrous as it may seem, Waldemar's mother, Marja Grabinska, was not at all grieved by the death of her son. She knew he would be killed. More, she had given priest Piotr Oborski her written consent to the murder of Waldemar, and the priest had absolved her of all sin.

Such are the gruesome details in the trial held in Cracow of the priests Gadoski and Oborski, Marja Grabinska and other members of a band of assassins, terrorists and robbers who operated in the counties of Olkusz and Miechow.

The trial untangled their skein of crime. It came to light that the band had been organized by one Henryk Adamus, a known criminal and former member of the counterrevolutionary Armia Krajowa, who had been released from prison by the people's government under the amnesty of 1948. It was led by Oborski and Gadoski.

Gadoski supplied the bandits with weapons, which he kept in his church, and organized the murder of militia officials and members of the Workers' Party. Among the gang's victims were Sawerin, headmaster of a village school, and militia corporal Kamionka. The gang also committed a number of armed robberies.

When Waldemar Grabinski found out that his mother was connected with the terrorists and was sheltering one of their leaders, he warned her that he would report the murderers' hide-out to the militia.

The cassocked bandits at once decided to get the boy "out of the way," and his mother gave her consent to their villainous plan.

The crime in Wolbrom sheds a lurid light on the infamous methods employed by Vatican agents in their fight against people's democracy.

CRIMINALS FREE CRIMINALS

The campaign launched by reactionary circles in Western Germany for the release of German war criminals has been intensified of late. The Bonn Bundestag even passed a special decision to send a delegation, headed by the Social-Democrat Schmid, to U.S. High Commissioner McCloy with a petition requesting the pardon of criminals now held in the Landsberg jail.

But as a matter of fact, the German neo-fascists do not have to exert themselves much to secure the release of their colleagues. They are being released by McCloy of his own accord.

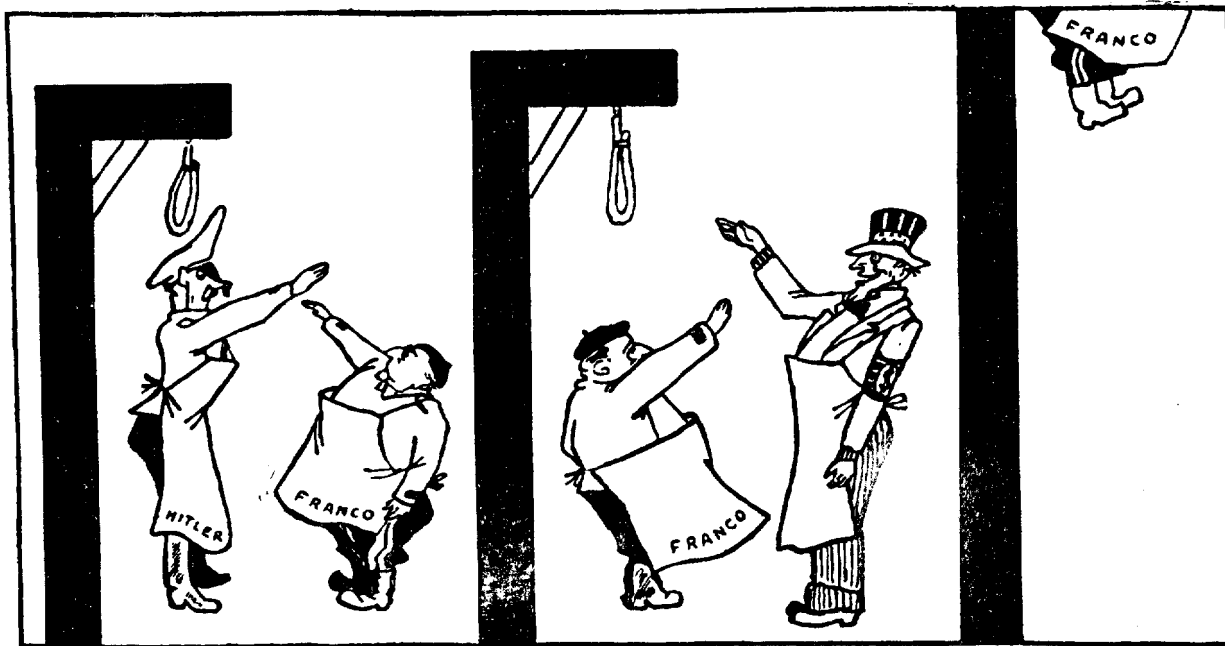
A Nuremberg tribunal tried Krupp and Flick. Now, with McCloy working hand in glove

with the Ruhr magnates, Flick and two Krupp directors, Houdremont and Ihn, have been set at liberty, and I. G. Farben director Fritz ter Meer was released a long time ago.

A Nuremberg tribunal tried Nazi diplomats. Now one of the major accused, von Weizsäcker, has been released.

A Nuremberg tribunal tried Nazi jurists. Now Schlegelberger, former state secretary to the Nazi Ministry of Justice, who was sentenced to life imprisonment, has been set free.

The American authorities are riding roughshod over the will of the peoples, who have demanded stern punishment for the Nazi war criminals. Is it not because many American military and civilian leaders are themselves guilty of heinous war crimes?

BUTCHER'S PROGRESS

PAST

PRESENT

FUTURE

(Szabad Nep, Budapest)

179 Days in Korea

Andrei FROLOV

WE ARRIVED in Korea in May 1950... A clear sky of pastel-blue, the shimmering blue of flooded rice paddies. In the paddies, men in white, women in white blouses and bright coloured skirts—and children, many children. Wooded mountainsides, a picturesque irregular coast line, wide rivers that start as creeks somewhere up in the mountains. The first general impression was of a wealth of colours, in glorious and startling combinations.

We visited all the principal areas of North Korea. And wherever we came we saw the people busily at work. Factories and roads were being built, irrigation canals and fishing vessels, bridges and stadiums, schools and homes. The city of Phyöngyang, provisional capital of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, was being reconstructed. A broad new thoroughfare was cutting its way among the little ramshackle houses, a new railway station was being erected, a huge sports ground was being laid out at the foot of Mount Moranbong.

We observed the people's life, their daily doings, and endeavoured to make as complete a film record of it as we could. We did not suspect then that soon we would be witnessing events which would focus world attention on Korea.

The Korean Cinema

Korea never had a film industry of her own before, and no film workers. It was only the government of the People's Democratic Republic that provided the conditions for the development of a Korean cinema art and industry. Film studios were built in Phyöngyang. They were just outside the city... I put that sentence down and had to stop. It is bitter to have to say that the Phyöngyang film studios exist no more. Early in October they were razed to the ground by American aircraft. But I know they will rise again. You can destroy a house, can wreck the walls, the roof, but you cannot destroy the living art of a living people.

Besides a number of newsreels and documentaries, Korea's young cinema industry put

out three full-length feature films: "Homeland," "Blast Furnace" and "Frontier Guards." This latter picture was released when the war was already on, and it met with a tremendous response, for the subject of it was the heroic frontier units, which were the first to repel the foul underhand attack of the Li Seung Man hirelings of American imperialism.

In South Korea, the development of a Korean cinematic art was not even attempted under the American marionette Li Seung Man. American firms monopolized all the screens and swamped them with Hollywood trash. All that was done at Seoul was to put Korean captions to the American pictures.

When the People's Army freed Seoul, a large stock of newsreels made by South-Korean cameramen was discovered there. And epitomized in them was the puppet nature of the whole South-Korean regime. The Seoul cameramen's work seems to have revolved largely around MacArthur: the General arriving, the General appearing before the people, Li Seung Man making a lengthy speech in praise of General MacArthur. MacArthur here, MacArthur there, MacArthur everywhere... Dulles arriving in Korea. Dulles on the 38th parallel... An American military parade in Seoul, and so on and so forth. I saw several thousand metres of captured newsreels but failed to discover even a few shots from the life of the people of South Korea. What the newsreels did bring out, however, was that Li Seung Man and his henchmen were foreign flunkies, and their regime an outrage on the people. Well, we may be grateful to the time-serving South-Korean cameramen even for that: they have made a lasting record of Li Seung Man's infamous betrayal.

North-Korean cameramen, on the other hand, did work that was truly invaluable. From the moment hostilities broke out, they were up front all the time and produced a succession of reels which were an important factor in mobilizing the efforts of the Korean people for the liberation struggle.

The North-Korean cameramen filmed the jubilant reception accorded the People's Army by the inhabitants of South Korea. They made films of the election of the People's Committee in liberated Ongdin, the liberation of Seoul, rejoicing crowds at meetings of many thousands. There are shots of a bridge over the Hangang River blasted by the Li Seung Man troops in their flight from Seoul, of the heroic South-Korean guerilla fighters who helped the People's Army, and of the rehabilitation of damaged railways. Other films show the gruesome atrocities perpetrated by the American and Li Seung Man fiends and of the sufferings of the people. I recall this episode, for example: an old mother wandering among mutilated corpses, looking for the body of her son; finding it, and sitting down on the ground beside it, her face stony with grief.

These film records belong to history. . . . The day of the Korean people's final victory is not far off, and many a film will be made about Korea's matchless, heroic struggle for independence. And some of the newsreel shots will undoubtedly figure as evidence before the International Tribunal that will try the American war criminals.

First Impressions

Arriving while Korea was still at peace, we for several weeks saw a country absorbed in peaceful constructive endeavours. We went about studying it. Not knowing the language was a hindrance, of course, but it could not prevent us from seeing the noble qualities of the industrious and freedom-loving Korean people.

The bulk of the population are peasants. The Korean peasantry follow time-honoured traditions in their daily round of life, beginning with the clothes they wear and the way they cook their food, and ending with family relationships.

Rice is the staple food of the people. The agrarian reform carried out by the democratic authorities gave the peasant land and freed him from age-old servitude to the landlord. At long last, the tiller began to work fields that were his own. Growing rice is hard work, it calls for patient, painstaking, scrupulous labour. And yet you do not see even a scrap of land untilled. Even the steepest slopes are cultivated. Kaoliang, millet, potatoes are grown on them.

The rice paddies are arranged in terraces, and are flooded in the spring. The rice is planted in dead-straight rows. Gradually slender shoots push up through the blue of the water, the colour of the field changes from blue to pale green, then a darker green, and finally yellow—towards the end of September, when the rice ripens. And all this time you see in the fields, from sunrise to sunset, the patient white-clad figure of the peasant tending his plants. Grateful nature repays man's work a hundred-fold. Rice yields abundantly, but only if given this painstaking care.

The Korean peasant works his land individually, but irrigation matters are dealt with collectively. The complex system of dams, ponds, canals needed for the purpose cannot be built by individual effort. And the inhabitants of a whole village or district, as the case may require, go out together to dig pits and canals and put up dams and locks.

Even the visitor from outside could not help seeing how much the country's progress, its political and economic development had been impeded by the artificial partition into North and South Korea. It was also clearly to be seen that North Korea was rapidly developing her potentialities.

American aggression broke into the people's peaceful life and destroyed the things they had created. But the fires of war only steel the will of a people that has known freedom. Their ordeal and tribulation once behind them, the Korean people will square their shoulders and begin anew to build the glorious life of peace.

Geography

The confusion prevailing in the names of Korea's towns, rivers and mountains is a reflection of her history. In no other country has history left so distinct an imprint on the map. It is often difficult to find the place you want on maps of Korea, because nearly every point has two names—a Korean and a Japanese.

In the Soviet Union we now generally use the Korean names, with the Japanese added in brackets. I should add that Korean names are very hard to transcribe in other languages, and many variants exist as a result. There is a town for which practically every map you see has a different designation: Haidzyu, Hedyu, Haiju, Hyadzyu, and lastly, the Japanese version of Kaisyu. And none of them

really reproduces what the name sounds like in Korean.

He who has not seen the Keumgangsan Hills has not seen Korea, Koreans say. Translated, Keumgangsan means "Diamond Hills." "Diamond" is used here, I imagine, in the sense of "precious," for these hills contain untold mineral riches.

The Diamond Hills were a favourite holiday resort of the working folk of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. There were hot springs there, and well-appointed sanatoriums, hotels and tourist camps.

These hills have long known the presence of man. They are crisscrossed with paths; there are steps cut in the mountainside, and railings around the edge of sheer cliffs—the work of nameless hermits who in days gone by sought quiet and solitude here. Each mountain top has its crop of tales and legends.

We were told that the Japanese deliberately impeded geological prospecting in the Diamond Hills. Fortunately for Korea, the future of these hills now no longer depends either on Japanese or any other imperialists. It is in the hands of the people, who have shed so much blood for their homeland.

On the 38th Parallel

In mid-June I spent some time on the 38th parallel. On the map, the parallel cuts across the Korean peninsula, from the Yellow Sea to the Sea of Japan, in a straight line. That, of course, is a conventional representation of the demarcation line. Actually, the line is not a straight one—it skirts communities and winds in and out among the mountain ranges.

In Haiju the line ran along the shore of a small inlet of the Yellow Sea; it was inadvisable, I was told, to appear on the shore.

"Why?" I queried in surprise.

The answer was that anyone who appeared there was fired upon from the other side. There had been no fresh fish in the local market for a long time past because the fishermen could not put out.

We drove over a road running along the parallel. Peasants were at work in the paddies and apple orchards. Wherever you looked you saw the labours of peace, a peaceful life. Nothing to indicate that only a few days separated us from the great tragedy that was to befall the Korean people.

Phyöngyang, June 25, 1950

In the evening of June 24 I went to a dance recital by a young Korean ballerina, Li So Ge. Korea's art, young, optimistic, full of promise, had thriven marvellously in the five years. Standing on Mount Moranbong on our way home from the recital, we gazed down on Phyöngyang's sea of lights. It was to be the last time....

Next morning promised a beautiful day. The sun rose hot and clear. The morning hours in Korea are wonderful; nowhere else, I would say, is sunrise so majestic. Perhaps that is why Korea—Chosen—is called the Land of Morning Calm—clear, fresh, tranquil. And so, the morning promised a beautiful day. Besides, it was Sunday—the day of rest. The town's awakening was quiet and peaceful.

And into this calm, peaceful quiet of the Korean morning broke the news that the Li Seung Man hirelings had invaded North-Korean territory at dawn, and that the order was out to throw them back across the 38th parallel. All this was announced over the radio, and during the day, notices issued by the Ministry of the Interior of the People's Democratic Republic were posted up on the walls. People gathered in groups to read them. Otherwise the city was still much as it had been. Only the lights did not go on at night.

We sat on the roof. The city was dark. Every now and again we could hear the policeman calling out below: a window was not blacked out properly, or someone had struck a match to light up.... In the darkness, the stars burned brighter overhead. Little by little the city settled down for the night, and only the sound of cars, moving with lights down, broke the stillness.

On the fifth day, June 29, at 5:30 p.m., American B-29's—Flying Fortresses—made their first appearance over Phyöngyang. There were 27 of them. People looked up at the sky without any great apprehension, for they did not expect Phyöngyang, a peaceful city, to be attacked. They did not know that that hour was to mark the beginning of the ruthless destruction of Phyöngyang, of the barbarous bombing of peaceful communities, of the American freebooters' savage policy of turning a flourishing country into a wasteland.

Black Sunday

Sunday, July 23, fully deserves the name Black Sunday. We looked out in the morning—clouds hung low overhead and there was a drizzle of rain. Someone said:

"It should be quiet today...."

The words were no sooner spoken than the drone of approaching planes was to be heard. The sirens sounded the alert. Bombs screamed. The air blast shook the house, windowpanes clattered. AA-guns opened up, then stopped—the gunners could not see their targets through the solid cloud bank.

Korean AA-gunners are amazingly good shots. I myself saw enemy planes hit time and again—one of them went off listing badly, another fell to pieces in the air. The American airmen accordingly preferred to fly out of range of the AA guns, which naturally affected the precision of their bombing.

The raid lasted a long time. The drone of engines, the screech of bombs, then the hurricane blast of an explosion; again the drone, again the screech, again the blast.... Unable to see the target, the Americans took to instrument-bombing or simply dropped their bombs at random.

Time passed. At one moment it would seem that the noise was subsiding and the air pirates were gone.... But then came the screaming of bombs again.... It was raining harder now, the drops pattered loudly on the iron roof, it was hard to sort out the sounds, but again we thought the noise had lessened.... Then bombs tore down once more.... This went on for eight hours; we had ceased to believe that it would ever end, that the planes would ever go away.

During one of the lulls we climbed up on the roof. A black pall of smoke hung over the city. Whole blocks were aflame. There were injured people on the streets, the rescue crews were out, ambulance parties darted about with stretchers. Two children knocked at our front door, we went down and let them in. They seemed to be brothers; one a tiny thing, the other a little older. They were so worn out with crying that they could only whimper. We did our best to soothe them, though this was rather difficult, as none of us knew Korean. Gradually the older boy calmed down; he whimpered no more and talked gently to the little one, evidently telling some story to

divert him. The little boy stopped crying too and even smiled. Nowhere have I seen such relations among children as in Korea. The little Koreans have their own unwritten code of how older children should treat the younger ones. They care tenderly for their smaller brothers and sisters, feed them, play with them charmingly, doing much to relieve the mother....

At last the elder lad managed to comfort his brother, and the little one went to sleep in his arms.

Twilight fell on Phyöngyang amid pillars of smoke and clouds of dust raised by the explosions. We went to look at the damage. The city had been deluged with bombs. They had wrecked the unfinished new building of the railway station and razed the whole working-class district around—a giant plough might have passed there. Pieces of wall were piled on each other in grotesque confusion. Many of the streets could no longer be distinguished. Overturned tramcars had been flung a long way from the tracks; tram rails stood up on end and lampposts lay on the ground. Bomb craters gaped in the asphalt; the roadways were littered with pieces of mangled human bodies and scattered household effects.... Such measureless suffering among these people here below, and such inhuman cruelty of those others up above—it was terrible....

The things that we saw in many different parts of the country cannot possibly be explained away as "tragic accidents." Korean hospitals had large canvasses marked with the Red Cross stretched on their roofs. These huge crosses were visible from any altitude. Perhaps it was just because these international insignia were so conspicuous that the American flyers chose hospitals for their targets. I saw a bombed hospital in Phyöngyang, under the ruins of which hundreds of sick and wounded had perished; and besides this I saw the smoking ruins of many other hospitals—in Wonsan (Gensan), Heungnam (Konan), Nampho (Tsinanpo), Sariwon and several other towns.

Heroic People

North Korea has quite a network of railways. Whereas the Japanese were out to build a base for attack on the Soviet Union and were interested only in strategic routes, the People's Democratic Republic began to reconstruct the

transport system to promote Korea's economic development. The mountainous nature of the country makes it very difficult both to build and to operate the railways. Electric traction is extensively employed on steep gradients, as for example, on one section of the Phyöngyang-Wonsan railway, which runs across the peninsula, over the Masikren mountain range.

You see no elderly railwaymen in Korea. The entire transport system is run by young people. Under the Japanese, Koreans were allowed to perform only the roughest unskilled work on the railways. But in the five years of North Korea's independence, forces of Korean railwaymen have been trained. The rail system passed the grim test of war and has been working without a hitch, thanks to the heroic Korean youth.

Nor is heroism confined to the youth. Here is another instance. Near the town of Heungnam (Konan) on the shores of the Sea of Japan, stood a large mineral fertilizer works. I write "stood," and my heart boils with anger. For the savage bandit bombings have destroyed this factory, as they have destroyed the greater part of the Korean people's property. The Heungnam works was one of the largest in the country, producing the sulphate fertilizer that is so vital to agriculture. It had trained skilled forces, its workers and engineers made numerous inventions and did much to rationalize and advance production. Like other factories, it was a centre of public activity.

Such was the Heungnam works when I visited it the first time. How different the second!

A few days before, seventy Flying Fortresses had reduced it to a pile of tangled iron and a maze of broken walls. The ruins were still smoking, rescue parties were still trying to save people buried under the debris.... And of Heungnam itself, nothing whatever remained—nothing but a scorched patch of earth and small heaps of rubble. The cranes in the port were mangled, the very fish in the water were dead.... Yes, it was a scene of death.

Some of the survivors wandered like shadows among this devastation. But others were working to clear the wreckage.... American planes came over again—not Fortresses this

time, but fighter-bombers with machine guns going full-blast.... Once they came, and a second time.... But the people went on with their work—nothing could terrorize them.

Another instance still—something that happened in July in the town of Hamheung, fifteen kilometres from Heungnam. Hamheung stands on the Sonchongang River. Near its source in the mountains, the turbulent stream has been harnessed for hydroelectric power; then it flows on through the valley, bringing moisture to the thirsty rice fields. By the time it gets to Hamheung it is very wide, and a long railway bridge spans it here.

That day in July, an American plane made this bridge its target. From bank to bank, the bombs came crashing down. Two bridge-spans and one of the piers—the second from the right bank—were smashed to smithereens. But this bridge was vital to railway traffic between the northern industrial area and the south. Any interruption might affect the supplies of the fighting forces. The damage must be repaired without delay!—the Party of Labour called, and all the people in the Hamheung area responded. Men, women, old folk and children—over 3,000 people in all—turned out for the repair job. The river's swift flow was dammed back with sand bags while a pier of wooden logs was erected. Day and night they worked, by torchlight when it got dark—and in three days' time, traffic over the bridge was resumed. I travelled over it myself several times. The trains moved slowly, the logs creaked under their weight, and no doubt the driver heaved a sigh of relief when the last car was safely across. But the trains were running, and that was the main thing.

The heroic effort of the Korean men and women who rebuilt it seemed to have given this bridge a charmed life. The Americans bombed it time and time again, but without effect. I was there in August, and again in September. Everything around was hideously mutilated, but the bridge remained intact. And when the air bandits saw this, they vented their spite in murdering children bathing and women washing clothes up the river, a long way from the bridge. The bridge, they realized, was invulnerable.

(To be concluded)

Paris Impressions

Notes of a Film Producer

M. CHIAURELI

LAST DECEMBER the France-U.S.S.R. Association invited a delegation of Soviet intellectuals to visit France and take part in the Franco-Soviet Friendship Month.

By the time the Soviet delegation, headed by Academician Nesmeyanov, rector of the University of Moscow, arrived in France after surmounting countless obstacles in the matter of visas, the Month was nearly over. However, the cordial welcome we were given on French soil quickly dispelled the understandable feeling of resentment evoked by the actions of the Paris authorities.

The Franco-Soviet Friendship Month was a striking demonstration of the deep and unflinching sympathy which the ordinary people of France cherish for the Soviet people. The members of the France-U.S.S.R. Association come from all sections of the nation. True Frenchmen and ardent patriots, they repose great hopes in friendship between France and the U.S.S.R. and bring the truth about the Soviet Union to the masses, explaining its peaceful aspirations and giving a true picture of the Soviet people's tremendous achievements in economy and culture.

Thanks to the Association, tens of thousands of French men and women are receiving correct information about the life of the Soviet people, and are getting to know their literature and art. The Association arranges talks and lectures about the Soviet Union, publishes books and magazines, holds exhibitions, concerts and demonstrations of Soviet films. All this activity knocks great holes in the iron curtain of malicious lies with which the present rulers of France and their American taskmasters want to shut the French people off from the land of Socialism.

Inviolable friendship between our two peoples was the watchword of the congress of the France-U.S.S.R. Association, which met in Paris. The welcome accorded the Soviet delegates was unforgettable. And the stormy ovations that rocked the hall whenever a speaker mentioned the name of Comrade Stalin, the

touching expressions of love and gratitude to the Soviet people for saving the world from the Nazi plague, were eloquent testimony that American propaganda is powerless to make the French people hostile to the Soviet Union.

"Long live peace!" "Long live friendship with the Soviet Union!" "Long live the great Stalin!"—echoed and re-echoed through the hall.

In the right-hand corner sat a delegation from one of the northwestern departments. The women were dressed in picturesque local costumes, the men wore the traditional red caps. Colourful too were the costumes worn by women delegates from the department of Hautes-Pyrénées, who, we were told, had worked hard all the previous summer on vegetable plots planted for the express purpose of raising money for the trip to Paris to attend the congress.

From the rostrum of the congress, the finest men and women of France voiced the sentiments of the French people.

"The real France is true to its friendship with the Soviet Union, and that is the best guarantee of peace," said Marcel Cachin, veteran Communist Party leader.

"You don't have to be a Communist to be a friend of the Soviet Union," Pierre Debray, the Catholic writer, declared.

Fanalette Janneau, a peasant woman, said that never will Frenchmen take up arms against the heroes of Stalingrad.

Our Soviet film "The Fall of Berlin" was shown in Paris during the Friendship Month. The French authorities had not permitted the picture to be released, but that had made the public only the more anxious to see it. The huge Mutualité hall where the film was to be demonstrated was filled to overflowing. The showing was preceded by an introductory talk about Soviet cinematic art. Then the lights went down, but no sooner had the opening shots of the film been flashed on to the screen than the police appeared and ordered the showing to stop on the grounds that no official

permit had been issued for the picture's release in France—although the law permits the private showing of such films. Only upon the unanimous protest of the audience and the assurance on the part of the organizers that the film would not be shown in full did the police withdraw.

Incidentally, the leaders of the Association found an ingenious way of compensating for the mutilation of the film by the censorship: they inserted explanatory titles in the spots that had been censored out. For example, in Part I after Alexei Ivanov and the factory director leave for Moscow at the invitation of Comrade Stalin came the subtitle:

"Here Stalin receives the ordinary steelworker and has a friendly talk with him, but on the insistence of the censors this section has been omitted."

And in place of the deleted section at the Yalta Conference:

"Here Stalin demands from the Allies guarantees of peace and security for the peoples, but this scene has been deleted by the censors."

It is difficult to describe the storm of protest and indignation in the hall when the deletions began. Still, with the help of the captions the audience was able to follow the action and understand what was happening. Each appearance of Comrade Stalin on the screen was greeted with fervent ovations.

The other Soviet pictures shown during the Month, "The Third Blow," "Kuban Cossacks," "Men of Courage," and "A Forest Tale," were likewise highly successful. The progressive French press printed enthusiastic reviews of them. The reactionary papers as usual either tried to ignore them or showered them with abuse. Curiously enough, however, the very same bourgeois reviewers who disparage our films in the columns of the yellow press rush to see every Soviet picture that happens to be shown in France.

* * *

As an art worker I was naturally interested in the position of my French colleagues. I must say that acquaintance with the cultural life in bourgeois France today makes a depressing impression on the Soviet visitor.

The indifference of the powers that be toward genuine art and the resounding publicity given to nonentities who pander to the lowest

tastes are evidence of the spiritual devastation that the American "benefactors" are bringing Western Europe.

I visited the art gallery where the works of Rodin, France's greatest sculptor, are exhibited. It was impossible, however, to view all of his work: the premises are so cold and gloomy that you simply cannot remain there for any length of time.

"We are poor, we have very few visitors," the attendant explained.

If few people visit the Rodin Gallery, that is again the fault of those who are trying to divorce art from life, from the people, those who in place of the lofty ideas of democracy, freedom and peace that nourish true art are preaching obscurantism, savagery and moral corruption, degrading art by being accessories of capitalism in its preparations for another destructive war.

I saw the café where the "existentialists," those cosmopolitan aesthetes, foregather. It is in the very heart of Paris, the reactionary press is full of the doings of its habitués, and their delirious writings are given blaring publicity, while true, humane, realistic art is neglected.

The "existentialists"—the followers of Sartre—and other proponents of fascist-minded cosmopolitanism, have no homeland, for the interests of the land of their birth are alien to them. These outcasts can only pile up their ill-gotten gains, considering this the be-all and end-all of life, or squander them in dissipation to kill the years of their pointless, futile existence. They are like the sparrows who point their tails impudently skywards with their beaks stuck in the dung on which they feed.

It is evil-smelling, noxious spiritual pabulum that the cinema, the radio and the press serve up to the French people. Nearly 75 per cent of the films shown on the French screen are American gangster, pornographic, or frankly fascist pictures. And in the meantime the French cinema is falling into decline, unable to compete with the American trash which enjoys the encouragement of the Marshallized authorities.

At the beginning of last year the American film magnates, out to get the French cinema completely under their thumb and ensure the undivided domination of Hollywood in France, imposed on the French film industry what they

call "Joint Franco-American film production," which, like all other forms of "co-operation" between the U.S.A. and France, has turned out in practice to be a flagrant violation of French interests. French actors, producers and technicians have simply been left without work to do, and the "co-operation" simply amounts to the use of French film studios and properties for the shooting of American movies. Script-writers, actors (including those featured in leading roles), producers and technicians are all brought over from the United States. One of the provisions of the arrangement is that each picture is made in two versions, French and English; but Americans are cast in the French versions as well, and as a result, French cinema workers do not take part even in the shooting of films destined for the French screen.

The censorship in France is perhaps as much an enemy of the French cinema as the American producers are. While readily issuing licenses for American films, it savagely suppresses everything progressive and honest in French cinematography.

Soviet film-goers saw "The Battle of the Railways," which gives a faithful picture of the French patriots' heroic struggle against the fascist invaders; but few people in France saw it. "The Man We Love Best," a poetic record of the love that the working people of France bear the great leader and teacher of toiling humanity, was banned by the censors, as was "Battle for Life," a film about the First World Peace Congress in Paris. Among the many other films banned were "1848," put out for the centenary of the 1848 revolution, and "They Rose Before Daybreak," about the struggle of the Spanish people for their independence.

Progressive film workers and their trade union are putting up a vigorous fight against the censors' tyranny. The infamous actions of the censorship authorities are the subject of indignant articles in the progressive press and of interpellations by Communist deputies in parliament. The ordinary film-goer, sick to death of the American trash, also has his say on this score. Outside cinemas with dazzling advertisements of American "hits" I saw posters with fiery protests against the flood of imported tripe, and appeals for the promotion of French films.

American ideological aggression in France is not confined to the cinema. Lying propaganda about the American way of life, which is utterly repellent to honest French men and women who want to see their country free and independent, is dinned into the ears of radio-listeners on all wave lengths.

In broadcasting, as in the cinema, progressive elements are being hounded at the bidding of the American imperialists.

Not long ago Jean Vidal, one of the most popular radio reporters in Paris, lost his job. The circumstances of his dismissal are noteworthy. Vidal arranged a program about the demonstration in the High Commission for Atomic Energy of the film "Life Begins Tomorrow," made by Nicole Vedrés and André Labarthe. The broadcast consisted of brief statements by Mme. Vedrés and Labarthe and the comments of four employees of the Commission who had viewed the picture.

"Life Begins Tomorrow" treats of famous men of France. The different parts of it are by no means of equal merit as regards their content. The film gives equal prominence to the "philosopher" Jean-Paul Sartre and the outstanding peace champion, the artist Pablo Picasso, to the mediocre reactionary writer André Gide and the famous progressive scientists Frédéric and Irène Joliot-Curie. However, it poses the question: is creative work of any kind possible under the threat of the atom bomb? And it shows what awaits mankind if the threat to employ the bomb should be carried out.

In his broadcast Vidal interviewed André Labarthe, co-author of and actor in the film—though, incidentally, before the program went on the air, Vidal's chiefs cut Labarthe's statement, ostensibly in order to shorten the broadcast from five to three and a half minutes.

What did Labarthe say to his listeners? He told them that his film was not about politics, that it was about peace and science.

What did the four spectators say? That the film is an appeal to all workers in science to unite in the interests of peace; they spoke about the indignation aroused by the government's decision to remove Professor Joliot-Curie from his post as High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, and said that they continued to consider Joliot-Curie their chief.

They said what they thought, and they thought what millions of other French people

who do not want war and are demanding the outlawing of the atom bomb are thinking.

But this was enough to alarm the reactionaries and obscurantists in the Paris radio. One of them, Vasseur, publicly admonished Vidal thus:

"You ought not to have brought spectators in. Peace is a subject of Communist propaganda, and Communist propaganda cannot be tolerated on the radio. To speak of peace is to fling a challenge to the government."

These frankly cynical words actually require no comment, but there is one colourful sidelight I should like to mention: Vidal's broadcast was given in the program "Paris Speaking," which is *beamed to America*. Evidently it was an irate reprimand from that quarter that set the Paris reprisal machine in motion, and Jean Vidal found himself without a job.

It was painful for us to witness such outrages against the national dignity of the French, in whose country the American imperialists are trying to behave like conquerors. In an effort to suppress all true French thought, the overseas businessmen are seizing control of both the publication and sale of

literature and flooding the French book market with trash. Countless "digests" crammed with American propaganda are being put out in France with American money. To the "Reader's Digest," "Sport Digest," "Catholic Digest," and numerous others, one more was recently added—the "Family Digest." It is, so it says, "a publication intended for the family, a happy, healthy, purely French, pleasant and useful publication." But the only thing it could do to prove its "purely French" origin was to proclaim the notorious Vichy slogan, "work, family and country," which the Pétain crew advanced with the blessing of Hitler and invested with a profoundly reactionary meaning. Thus are the reactionary "ideas" of the fascist occupation period being revived today in Marshallized France, this time in an American version.

But there is another France, the true, courageous, freedom-loving France; there is the great French people, loyal to the glorious traditions of the Paris Commune, firmly resolved to fight for the independence of its homeland, for the triumph of progress and democracy, for world peace. And it is to this France that the future belongs.

BOOK REVIEWS

Story of Struggle and Victory

I. YERMASHOV

THE AUTHOR of "China Victorious," a Russian translation of which appeared recently, is an Austrian progressive who spent a number of years in China and took part in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of its heroic people. Jensen dedicates his book "to the millions of men and women fighting for China's freedom." His account was completed a few months before the history-making victory of the Chinese people and the birth of the Chinese People's Republic. Permeated with the fervour

Fritz Jensen. China siegt. Vienna, 1949. Russian translation, Moscow, 1950.

of revolutionary struggle, the book traces the principal stages in the people's revolution and exposes the terrorist regime of the Kuomintang clique and the machinations of the imperialists. Despite some shortcomings, "China Victorious" is a valuable addition to literature on the new China.

Jensen was born in Austria and is a physician by profession. He came to China in 1939 with a background of three years of anti-fascist struggle in the ranks of the International Brigades in Republican Spain.

"In spite of my... practical experience in political struggle on my native continent, I was still

weighed down by some of the prejudices of the 'educated European,' the author writes. "I regarded my mission to China as that of the dispenser of knowledge, teacher and enlightener; I thought I knew what I had left behind and what I could expect here. Only gradually, through intense work, did I change from 'adviser'—the capacity in which I had come to China—to pupil. And I remained a pupil for several years before I could become useful in at least a modest measure." (P. 27.)

Comparing the capitalist jungle of Western Europe with the new China, Jensen came to see that it is the labouring masses, raised to political maturity in the struggle for independence and true democracy, that are the creator of a genuine human culture.

"... In the liberated areas, the areas of the Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung, I found the people of our own future: millions of workers, peasants and soldiers who, in spite of the material want still to be overcome, were united by such a high level of political consciousness that compared with them the entire mode of life of the European bourgeoisie and its fellow travellers from the labour aristocracy—a life externally comfortable and secure yet so utterly hopeless—seems like the darkest Middle Ages." (P. 27.)

The people of the liberated areas, Jensen found, had not the slightest doubt about the nature of imperialism:

"The soldiers of the People's Liberation Army know what they are fighting for, and they are fully aware that their struggle is closely linked with the struggle of the workers of Europe and America. In this respect they belong to the most progressive forces of the world... They are the brothers of the workers and peasants who built up the European People's Democracies." (P. 36.)

The Chinese people are inspired and educated by the Communist Party, which springs from the midst of the people and has supreme faith in their revolutionary powers.

The People's Liberation Army grew into a formidable adversary of imperialism and Chinese reaction, winning the unbounded love and confidence of China's population. Everywhere the behaviour of its soldiers showed that they are fully aware of their political responsibility and the identity of their interests with the interests of all working people.

The P.L.A. did not have to resort to mobilization to augment its numbers. The peasants flocked to its banners, knowing that in its ranks they would be defending their own vital interests. Nor did the P.L.A. have to turn to other countries for help. The population of the liberated areas voluntarily supplied it with food and clothing, and armaments it captured from the enemy.

"We are scoring our victories without outside military aid. We have achieved great successes and are winning because the strength and support of the entire Chinese people are on our side,"

Chou En-lai told foreign correspondents at a press conference in February 1947. (P. 184.)

Jensen quotes the following eight rules governing the behaviour of soldiers toward the civilian population:

"1. If you remove a door from a peasant's home to use for a bed, put it back before you leave the village.

"2. Before leaving, tie up the straw you slept on and put it back where you took it from. Put everything you may take back into its place. Sweep the floor before you leave.

"3. Be modest, truthful and friendly.

"4. No requisitioning. Pay at market prices for everything you buy.

"5. If you borrow anything, return it.

"6. If you cause some damage, compensate for it.

"7. Do not dirty the village.

"8. Do not annoy women." (P. 175.)

Whereas in the liberated areas the peasants, workers and intellectuals took over the administration of the state and became the masters of their own lives, in the Kuomintang-controlled territory the workers and peasants, that is, the bulk of the population, remained down-trodden slaves.

Ruinous rents, landlord usury, crushing taxes and outright extortion by Kuomintang officials reduced the peasantry to a state of abject poverty. Peasants died *by the million* from hunger and disease. As for the Kuomintang army, it was founded on a system of forcible mobilization, with slave traders trafficking in men irrespective of whether they were fit for military service or not; the recruits were put in irons and otherwise brutally treated, and a large number died even before they reached training camp.

Describing the appalling social conditions and the monstrous corruption that was rife throughout the Kuomintang military and governmental machine, Jensen shows how the Communist Party became the rallying centre for patriots in Chiang Kai-shek's rear. It was the organizer of the united national front of the entire Chinese people.

* * *

Chiang Kai-shek worked out his strategy and tactics in the civil war with the direct assistance of such a prominent representative of the American military clique and Washington ruling circles as General Marshall, the present U.S. Secretary of Defence. Marshall came to China as a special representative of President Truman shortly after the surrender of Japan. In the performance of his mission he was assisted by U.S. Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer. In organizing aid to the Kuomintang regime which had rotted to the core, they

"assumed the role of proponents of the American postwar policy. It was part of that policy to employ any feudal dictator to serve as agent of the huge commercial concern which is the imperialist camp." (P. 131.)

The Washington diplomatists and strategists screened their far-reaching expansionist plans with hypocritical protestations of their desire to put an end to the civil war in China and effect a "reconciliation" between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists. And General Marshall was sent to China at that time to play this part of "peacemaker" and "mediator."

The practical purpose of these manoeuvres was to gain time for military preparations. The idea was to complete the reorganization of the Kuomintang army, under the direction of American instructors, and move it, on American transport facilities, to advantageous battle positions. All told, nineteen armies were carried by American ships and aircraft to the North and Northeast and to Manchuria. The plan was to throw a tight ring around the liberated areas. With U.S. aid Chiang Kai-shek had thus secured great numerical superiority over the P.L.A., and his army was supplied with American arms, in addition to the weapons it received after Japan's surrender.

In July 1946 Chiang Kai-shek, with the assistance of a staff of American advisers and

the American troops which had occupied Tsingtao and Tientsin, launched his offensive. But already by the beginning of 1947 the P.L.A. began to strike back and soon it halted the Kuomintang drive all along the front. The strategic objectives which General Marshall had set Chiang Kai-shek were not achieved. In the summer of 1947 the P.L.A. mounted a counteroffensive that smashed the Kuomintang "fortress" and buried Washington's plans under the ruins. The policy of the Communist Party, the strategy and tactics of the People's Liberation Army brought the people of China complete victory over the enemy, thereby thwarting the designs of the American monopolies, which sought to establish their undivided domination over this vast country and turn it into a colony of the dollar and a strategic springboard for the preparation of a new world war.

* * *

As we have already said, Jensen's book is not free of flaws. Its main shortcomings are the following:

In discussing feudal relations in China, the author approaches the question too narrowly when he explains the persistent and stagnant nature of these relations by the geographic factor and overlooks the fundamental economic and political factors. He even loses sight of the fact that in the last hundred-odd years feudal relations in China were preserved and sustained by the foreign colonial powers, which resorted to every means, force included, to prevent China's progress.

Jensen also fails to see so important a fact as the development of capitalism in China. True enough, Chinese capitalism came into being in the specific conditions of semi-colonial subjugation, but for all that capitalist relationships had already taken shape in the latter part of last century. This is of cardinal importance, for it helped to undermine feudal relationships and accelerated the development of the struggle waged by the peasant masses. The prime factor, of course, was the appearance of a working class, which gave leadership to the peasantry, became the hegemon of the national-liberation movement and ensured the victory of the great Chinese people's revolution. The triumph of people's democracy in China is a fitting culmination of the bitter but glorious fight of the masses for independence,

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for the overthrow of the foreign yoke and the abolition of the chains of feudal exploitation. Lenin's brilliant prediction that "the transformation of the old Chinese riots into a conscious democratic movement is inevitable," came true. The working class was able to unite the basic, predominant forces of the nation—the peasantry, urban working people and the petty and middle bourgeoisie, all of whom suffered from the oppression of foreign capitalists and the feudal exploiters.

Although he gives a correct and vivid picture of America's imperialist policy in China, Jensen does not lay sufficient emphasis on the fact that the American imperialists have *always* been the worst enemies of the Chinese people. And yet this circumstance is of particular significance at the present time, when predatory American imperialism is seeking to camouflage its criminal plans of aggression by the old claim that the Wall Street magnates "are not interested" in exploiting the Far Eastern countries, a claim which the American colonial interests have used for more than a century to conceal their efforts to establish themselves as the sole masters of China.

These shortcomings, however, do not nullify the merits of Jensen's book, which contains a wealth of factual data characterizing the policy, strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of China at the various stages of its struggle and its vast constructive activity.

The value of Jensen's book lies first and foremost in the fact that it is the testimony of a participant in the historical events described, events that culminated in the complete failure of the "anti-Communist crusade" in Asia, the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary, fascist clique, and the collapse of American policy as a whole in China and throughout the Far East. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people of China have done away once and for all with the yoke of imperialism and made their country a bulwark of democracy and progress in Asia.

The lessons to be drawn from the events in China are timely indeed. For not only the reactionary comprador bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries whose peoples have risen to fight for freedom and independence, but also the ruling circles of the metropolitan countries of Europe have, like Chiang Kai-shek, pinned their hopes on American imperialism. After the second world war,

the forces of peace and democracy clashed with the forces of imperialism on the vast expanses of China, with the Kuomintang armies serving as American mercenaries and carrying out plans drawn up in Washington. The flames of civil war in China were fanned by the Wall Street moguls, their aim was to strangle the people's revolution and turn Asia's greatest country into an American colony.

The book ends with the spring of 1949, when the People's Liberation Army redeemed Peking and Tientsin and only a few months remained until the great day—October 1, 1949—when the Chinese People's Republic was proclaimed.

The victory of the Chinese people has been a source of inspiration for all the oppressed peoples of Asia, who are waging a struggle for freedom and independence, against imperialism. China's example shows them that if their struggle is to succeed, all the national forces must be united under the leadership of the working class, the most progressive class of modern society, headed by the Communist Party, the most consistent and steadfast champion of the people's interests.

The heroic fighters and builders of democratic China, Jensen writes,

"hold a forward outpost in the vanguard of the democratic world. . . . They are Asia's people of the future. They are the focal point of the revolution that has stirred a billion men and women in the colonies and semi-feudal countries of their continent." (Pp. 36-37.)

Speaking of the machinations of the American imperialists in Asia and the help they are rendering the feudal, comprador elements of Indo-China, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, etc., Jensen points out that the struggle of the peoples of these countries against the forces of reaction

"is at different stages of political development, but they all are following the same path, the path of people's democracy in China." (P. 267.)

Mao Tse-tung, analyzing the roots of the military and political fiasco that overtook Chiang Kai-shek and American imperialism in China, said in one of his speeches:

"When the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique unleashed in 1946 civil war against the people throughout the country, it embarked on this gamble . . . mainly because it relied on the support of American imperial-

ism, considering the latter extraordinarily powerful, equalled by none in the world, inasmuch as it possessed the atom bomb. ... This clique harboured insensate hopes of the 'inevitability of a Soviet-American war' and the 'inevitability of a third world war.'

"After the second world war, this dependence on American imperialism has become a common feature of the reactionary forces in all countries. ...

"However, is postwar American imperialism really so powerful as Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries in the various other countries imagine? Can Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries of the various countries really expect unlimited aid from American imperialism? By no means.... The might of the U.S.A. is of a superficial and transitory character. American imperialism is sitting on a volcano of crisis which threatens to erupt at any moment. This compelled the American imperialists to draw up a plan

for the enslavement of the entire world, and they are now tearing about like wild beasts in Europe, Asia and other parts of the globe, collecting reactionary forces, the scum cast out by the peoples....

"The international anti-imperialist camp is stronger than the imperialist camp. We, not the enemy, have the advantage...." (Pp. 273-74.)

These words from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on December 25, 1947, carry a redoubled impact today.

Events in Asia and Europe show that the arrogant claimants to world dominion have everywhere earned the hatred of the peoples, who are firmly resolved to fight against the instigators of a new war, for world peace.

The Chinese People's Republic, which has entered into fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, has become a mighty peace factor in Asia.

FROM THE EDITORIAL LETTER BOX

The Canadian Sector of the Peace Front

"IT IS OUR ardent wish that Canada and the Soviet Union may be on the same side—the side of world peace." This was the keynote of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Month which opened in the early part of last November, and it expressed the sentiment of thousands of ordinary Canadians.

Our Society had to cope with many difficulties in arranging the event. The big dailies and the broadcasting stations surrounded our work with a conspiracy of silence. Our modest funds did not even permit us to advertise the planned lectures, talks and meetings. High railway fares ruled out a national tour to make arrangements for the Month. Our country, as you know, is a large one.

All the same, the Month was a success. Some thirty public meetings were held. Over six thousand people signed or approved a Letter to the People of Stalingrad. Thousands saw the

films and visited the exhibitions illustrating Soviet life, art, industry, agriculture and science. In some towns the meetings were so large that big theatres had to be hired for them. In the prairie provinces farmers and miners travelled many miles in the bitter frost to attend gatherings. Special meetings were arranged for women, youth and students. Books and magazines about the Soviet Union sold like hot cakes at all the meetings. There was a particularly big demand for Soviet works of fiction.

Before the Friendship Month our Society had only three local committees. By mid-December about twenty groups had been formed. Furthermore we obtained over 500 new subscribers in the four weeks to the Society's small bulletin, *News-Facts*.

All this is very significant in a country like Canada, where the government, the radio,

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press, cinema and church are lashing up war hysteria and conducting a campaign of vilification against the Soviet Union, and where "emergency measures" in the American style threaten all who fight for peace or who desire peace. This is because ours is a Society of ordinary Canadians.

The Letter to the People of Stalingrad says:

"We who sign this letter are not great people. We are ordinary Canadians, writing to you ordinary citizens of Stalingrad. Believe us... we have no wish to see you and your families blown to dust with atomic bombs, any more than we ourselves want to suffer that fate!"

The old National Council for Canadian-Soviet Friendship was at one time patronized by prominent members of the Canadian bourgeoisie. These distinguished "friends" have long ago ceased to favour co-operation with the Soviet Union. In December 1949, the Council decided to form a society of friendship with the Soviet Union in which ordinary Canadians would take part. The idea found a response among workers, farmers and progressive members of the middle classes.

Canada is rife with unscrupulous fabrications about the Soviet Union. The truth about the land of Socialism is practically boycotted by the press. But the Canadian people are deeply interested in the life of their great neighbour.

The decisive thing for the Canadian masses is that the Soviet Union is the most determined, the strongest and most reliable champion of world peace.

This truth is shaking the foundations of anti-Soviet propaganda.

Of course, it will take a great deal of work before the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society can down the anti-Soviet lies and slanders spread by the warmongers and their abettors in Canada. But the motto "friendship with the Soviet Union means peace and prosperity" is now re-echoing through Canada and finding a response among the masses. This too is one of the sectors of the great peace front.

Dyson Carler

President, Canadian-Soviet
Friendship Society

Ottawa
January, 1951

January 14

The Viet-Nam People's Army launches an offensive on a 120-130 km. front. Fighting is in progress northwest and northeast of Hanoi.

40,000 women in Hankow (Chinese People's Republic) demonstrate in defence of world peace.

January 15

The High Command of the Korean People's Army issues a communiqué summarizing the results of the New Year offensive. 13,009 American, British and Li Seung Man troops were killed, wounded or captured in Central Korea. Breaching the enemy's defences at numerous points and advancing at the rate of 15 km. a day, the People's Army and the Chinese volunteer detachments surrounded and mopped up the enemy forces in Munsan (Bunsan), Yijonbu (Giseifu), Kaphen (Kahee) and Chhun-

CHRONICLE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

January 1951

chhon (Sunsen). Giving pursuit to the enemy, the People's Army and Chinese volunteers liberated Seoul and numerous other cities, airdromes and seaports. Extensive booty was captured.

"Chancellor" Adenauer of Western Germany rejects the proposals of Prime Minister Grotewohl of the German Democratic Republic, designed to promote the establishment of German unity.

In his budget message to Congress, Truman demands a budget of 71.6 billion dollars for the 1951-52

fiscal year, admitting that nearly 69 per cent of this sum is assigned for military purposes.

American planes again violate China's air frontiers at several points.

A big peace meeting in Chicago is addressed by delegates returned from the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. The meeting approves a program of action providing for a popular ballot on major peace issues to be arranged in Chicago.

By 36 votes to 5, the State Senate of North Dakota (U.S.A.) passes a resolution demanding that Congress and Truman order U.S. troops to withdraw from Korea immediately.

The Italian Council of Ministers threatens "severe administrative and judicial action" against all

persons who protest against General Eisenhower's visit to Italy.

January 16

Following up their successes in all sectors of the front, the Korean People's Army and Chinese volunteers continue to deal the enemy telling blows.

January 17

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Chinese People's Republic sends the United Nations his reply to the proposals of the "three-man ceasefire commission" for Korea. Chou En-lai's reply contains four proposals: withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan, establishment of the legitimate status of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations, and convocation of a seven-nation conference to adjust the Korean and other Asian problems.

General Eisenhower arrives in Rome. Protest strikes and demonstrations are held throughout Italy.

The Kekkonen Cabinet in Finland is reconstructed to include 7 Social-Democrats.

William Rogers Herod of the U.S.A. (President of the International General Electric Company) is appointed "Production Co-ordinator" of the North-Atlantic alliance.

January 18

The Soviet press announces completion of the transfer to the Cen-

tral People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic of the property temporarily administered or leased by the Soviet Union in the town of Dalny, as well as of the property acquired by Soviet economic organizations from Japanese owners in Manchuria and of all the buildings in the former military compound in Peking. This transfer, made without compensation, was provided for in the agreement of February 14, 1950, on the Chinese Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dalny.

The Korean People's Army conducts active operations on all fronts.

For "security" reasons, the U.S. military authorities cease publication of any communiqués on the fighting in Korea.

January 20

A. Y. Vyshinsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., presents to French Ambassador Chataigneau the Soviet reply to the French note of January 5, 1951. The reply again calls the French government's attention to the need for it to observe the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance of December 10, 1944.

U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister A. Y. Vyshinsky presents to British Chargé d'Affaires Nicholls the Soviet reply to the British note of January 5, 1951. The reply again calls

the British government's attention to the need for it to observe the British-Soviet Treaty of May 26, 1942.

January 21

The Soviet people and the whole of progressive humanity observe the 27th anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin, founder of the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), leader and teacher of the working people of all lands.

The first Czechoslovak Peace Congress, opened on January 20, ends in Prague.

The 29th Congress of the Socialist Party of Italy, in session since January 17, concludes in Bologna.

January 22

The third Congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, which opened in Berlin on January 20, concludes its proceedings. The Congress issued a manifesto to the people of Germany, adopted a new constitution and elected a new Executive. Friedrich Ebert, Oberbürgermeister of Greater Berlin, was re-elected President of the Society.

The Korean People's Army forces advancing in the Kanwong province on Yonwol (Neietsu) rout the enemy troops and free this important communications hub and the surrounding area.

1950 U.S.S.R. Art Exhibition



G. E. SATEL—Trade School Trainees.



A. I. KITAYEV—To School for the First Time.

V. A. SEROV—A View.



NEW TIMES

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